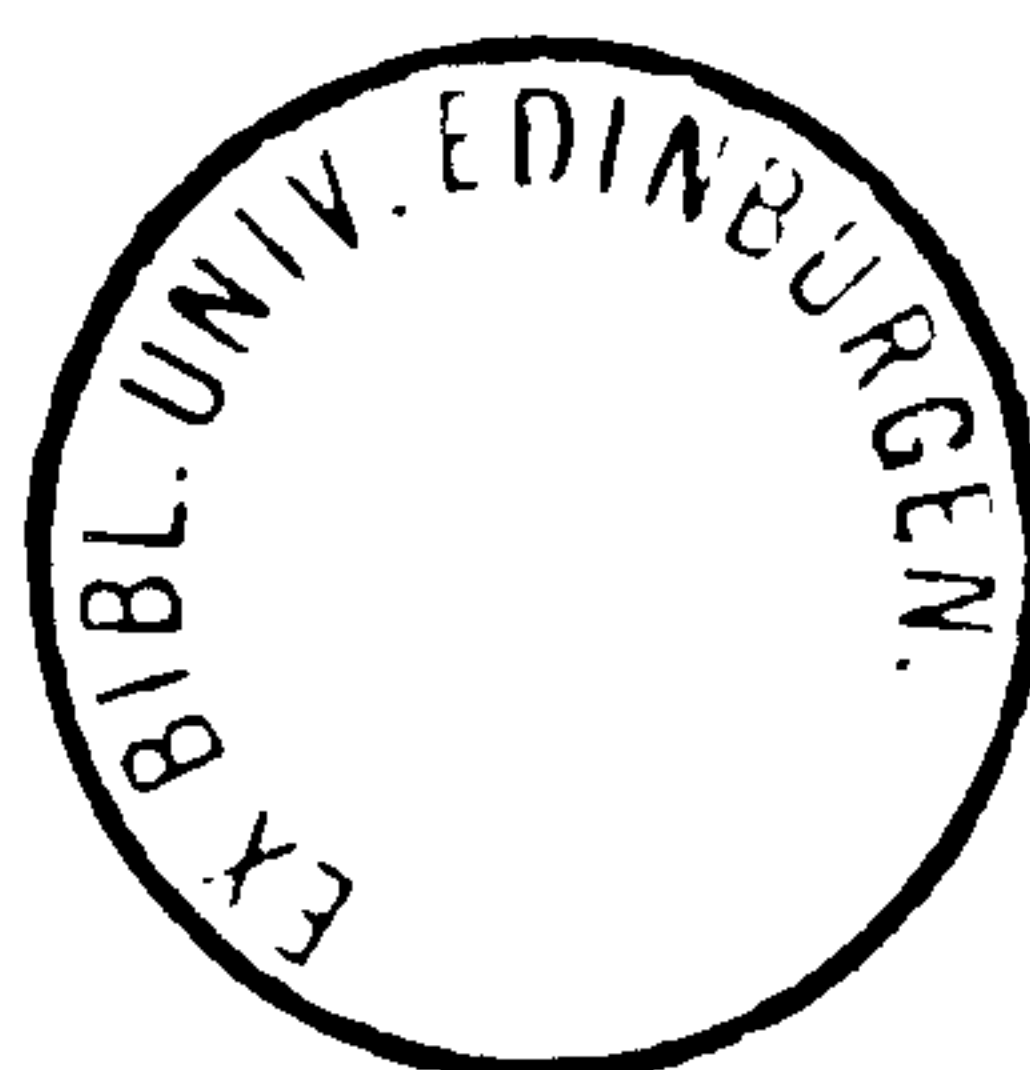


THE BISHOPS AND DIOCESE OF CARLISLE:
CHURCH AND SOCIETY ON THE ANGLO-SCOTTISH BORDER,
1292-1395

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with the five bishops who ruled the diocese of Carlisle between 1292 and 1395: John Halton (1292-1324), John Ross (1324-1332), John Kirkby (1332-1352), Gilbert Welton (1353-1362), and Thomas Appleby (1363-1395). The thesis is divided into two parts. In the first section of the first part there is a general discussion of the trends in the appointment of English bishops in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the origins and preferment of the five bishops of Carlisle here studied is then discussed. As in other dioceses of lesser value, the cathedral chapter was frequently able to secure the see for its own candidates. There was little royal interest in the see, and papal interest was only fleeting and formal. The election of John Halton coincided with the debate for the crown of Scotland, which eventually led to the hostilities and uneasy truces that dominated relations between England and the Scots throughout the later middle ages. Halton and his successors, with the exception of John Ross, were closely involved in many aspects of the war and border affairs, and the second section of part one is devoted to their activities in the north, and the major events of the wars are also given brief notice. Halton's two collectorships of papal tenths in Scotland, his attendance of the general council of Vienne, and Appleby's involvement in parliament in the later years of Edward III and his tenure as a continual councillor in the first year of Richard II's reign are also discussed. Part two is concerned with the bishops as diocesans. In the first section there is a discussion on the keeping of medieval episcopal records, and an analysis is made of the registers of Halton, Kirkby, Welton, and Appleby, and the fragment of that of Ross, the only ones of the medieval diocese of Carlisle to have survived and the main sources on which this study is based. The second section is concerned with the bishops' functions and responsibilities, with their exercise of patronage, and with the men whom they selected for the various offices of diocesan administration and their rights and duties. Episcopal administration at Carlisle was highly centralised. For the most part, the bishops have remarkable records for residence. Moreover, there was an absence of archidiaconal jurisdiction, and there were no true jurisdictional peculiars situated within the boundaries of the diocese. The bishops relied mainly upon the officials and rural deans to execute their mandates, and the officials furthermore usually performed various functions that in other dioceses were recognised as pertaining to the archdeacon. In the third section the recruitment of the secular clergy, upon whom fell the major responsibilities of ministering to the spiritual needs of the laity and of making the sacraments available, is examined. Finally, there are three appendices: the episcopal itineraries; a list of the occupants of the offices of diocesan administration; and a list of the incumbents of the parish churches.

I hereby declare and certify that
this thesis is based upon my own
work and has been composed entirely
by myself.

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Contents

Acknowledgements	i
List of Abbreviations	iii
Part I: The Bishops, 1292–1395	1
1. Origins and Preferments	2
2. The Careers of the Bishops	17
Part II: The Bishops and the Diocese	150
1. Records and Record-Keeping	151
2. Diocesan Administration and Personnel	164
3. Recruitment of the Clergy	225
Appendix A. Episcopal Itineraries	258
Appendix B. Diocesan Officers	323
Appendix C. Parish Churches and Incumbents	332
Bibliography	422

Abbreviations

<i>Anonimalle</i>	<i>The Anonimalle Chronicle, 1333 to 1381</i> , ed V.H. Galbraith (Manchester, 1927).
<i>Avesbury</i>	<i>Adae Murimuth Continuatio Chronicarum; Robertus de Avesbury, De Gestis Mirabilis Regis Edwardi Tertii</i> , ed E.M. Thompson, RS 93 (London, 1889).
BIHR	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</i>
<i>Bridlington</i>	<i>Gesta Edwardi de Carnarvan Auctore Canonico Bridlingtoniensi</i> , in vol 2 of <i>Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II</i> , 2 vols, ed William Stubbs, RS 76 (London, 1882-3).
CCR	<i>Calendar of the Close Rolls</i> , 45 vols (London, 1892-1954).
CChR	<i>Calendar of the Charter Rolls, 1226-1516</i> , 6 vols (London, 1903-27).
CDS	<i>Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland</i> , 4 vols, ed J. Bain (Edinburgh, 1881-8).
CFR	<i>Calendar of the Fine Rolls</i> , 22 vols (London, 1911-63).
CIPM	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and Other Analagous Documents</i> , 16 vols (London, 1904-74).
CPL	<i>Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters</i> , 14 vols, ed W.H. Bliss et al (London, 1894-1961).
CPP	<i>Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Petitions to the Pope</i> , ed W.H. Bliss (London, 1897).
CPR	<i>Calendar of the Patent Rolls</i> , 52 vols (London, 1891-1916).
CRO	Carlisle, Cumbria County Record Office
CWAAS	The Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society

CYS	The Canterbury and York Society
EHF	<i>The English Historical Review</i>
Emden, Cambridge	A.B. Emden, <i>A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500</i> (Cambridge, 1963).
Emden, Oxford	A.B. Emden, <i>A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to 1500</i> , 3 vols (Oxford, 1957-9).
Foedera	<i>Foedera, Conventions, Litterae, et Cujuscunque Generis Acta Publica...</i> , ed Thomas Rymer and Robert Sanderson, rev ed Adam Clarke et al, Record Commission (London, 1816-69).
Foedera, ed Rymer	<i>Foedera, Conventions, Litterae, et Cujuscunque Acta Publica...</i> , 20 vols, ed Thomas Rymer and Robert Sanderson (London, 1704-35).
Fordun	<i>Johannis de Fordun Chronica Gentis Scotorum</i> , 2 vols, ed and trans W.F. Skene, <i>Historians of Scotland</i> 1, 4 (Edinburgh, 1871-2).
Froissart	<i>The Chronicles of Froissart</i> , ed and trans Thomas Johnes (Hafod, 1803-10).
Guisborough	<i>The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough</i> , ed Harry Rothwell, <i>Camden Society</i> ser 3, 89 (London, 1957).
Handbook	<i>Handbook of British Chronology</i> , ed F.M. Powicke and E.B. Fryde, 2nd ed (London, 1961).
Hemingburgh	<i>Chronicon Walteri de Hemingburgh, Vulgo Hemingford Nuncupati, de Gestis Regum Angliae</i> , 2 vols, ed H.C. Hamilton (London, 1848-9).
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
Knighton	<i>Chronicon Henrici Knighton, vel Cnitton, Monachi Leycestrensis</i> , 2 vols, ed J.R. Lumby, RS 92 (London, 1889-95).
Lanercost	<i>Chronicon de Lanercost, MCCI-MCCCXLVI</i> , ed Joseph Stevenson, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1839).

Le Neve, <i>Fasti</i> , 1300-1541	John Le Neve, <i>Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1300-1541</i> , 12 vols, ed J.M. Horn, B. Jones, and H.P.F. King (London, 1962-7).
Melsa	<i>Chronica Monasterii de Melsa...</i> , 3 vols, ed E.A. Bond, RS 43 (London, 1866-8).
Marimuth	<i>Adae Marimuth Continuatio Chronicarum; Robertus de Avesbury, De Gestis Mirabilis Regis Edwardi Tertii</i> , ed E.M. Thompson, RS 93 (London, 1889).
NE	<i>Northern History</i>
Parl Writs	<i>Parliamentary Writs...</i> , 2 vols, ed Francis Palgrave, Record Commission (London, 1827-34).
Pluscarden	<i>Liber Pluscardensis</i> , 2 vols, ed and trans F.J.H. Skene, <i>Historians of Scotland</i> 7, 10 (Edinburgh, 1877-80).
Polychronicon	<i>Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, Monachi Cestrensis</i> , 9 vols, ed J.R. Lumby, RS 41 (London, 1865-86).
PRO	London, The Public Records Office
Reg Appleby	Carlisle, Cumbria County Record Office MS DRC 1/2: The Registers of Bishops Horncastle, Welton, and Appleby.
Reg Halton	<i>The Register of John de Halton, Bishop of Carlisle, 1292-1324</i> , 2 vols, ed W.N. Thompson, CYS 12-13 (London, 1913).
Reg Holm Cultram	<i>The Register and Records of Holm Cultram</i> , ed Francis Grainger and W.G. Collingwood, CWAAS Record Series 7 (Kendal, 1929).
Reg Horncastle	Carlisle, Cumbria County Record Office MS DRC 1/1: The Registers of Bishops Horncastle, Welton, and Appleby.
Reg Kirkby	Carlisle, Cumbria County Record Office MS DRC 1/1: The Registers of Bishops Halton, Ross, and Kirkby.

<i>Reg Melton</i>	<i>The Register of William Melton, Archbishop of York, 1317-1340, 2 vols and in progress, 1, ed Rosalind Hill, 2, ed David Robinson (Torquay, 1977-).</i>
<i>Reg Romeyn</i>	<i>The Registers of John le Romeyn, Lord Archbishop of York, 1286-1296...., 2 vols, ed William Brown, SS 123, 128 (Durham, 1913-17).</i>
<i>Reg Ross</i>	Carlisle, Cumbria County Record Office MS DRC 1/1: <i>The Registers of Bishops Halton, Ross, and Kirkby.</i>
<i>Reg Sacrum Anglicanum</i>	William Stubbs, <i>Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum</i> , 2nd ed (Oxford, 1897).
<i>Reg Welton</i>	Carlisle, Cumbria County Record Office MS DRC 1/2: <i>The Registers of Bishops Horncastle, Welton, and Appleby.</i>
<i>Reg Wetheral</i>	<i>The Register of the Priory of Wetheral</i> , ed J.E. Prescott, CWAAS Record Series 1 (Kendal, 1897).
<i>Reg Wickwane</i>	<i>The Register of William Wickwane, Lord Archbishop of York, 1279-1285</i> , ed William Brown, SS 114 (Durham, 1907).
<i>Rishanger</i>	<i>Willelmi Rishanger...Chronica et Annales...</i> , ed H.T. Riley, RS 28:2 (London, 1865).
<i>Rot Parl</i>	<i>Rotuli Parliamentorum...</i> , 6 vols, Record Commission (London, 1783).
<i>Rot Scot</i>	<i>Rotuli Scotiae...</i> , 2 vols, ed D. Macpherson, Record Commission (London, 1814-19).
RS	Rolls Series
<i>Scalacronica</i>	Thomas Gray, <i>Scalacronica</i> , ed Joseph Stevenson, Maitland Club (Edinburgh, 1836).
SCH	<i>Studies in Church History</i>
SHR	<i>The Scottish Historical Review</i>
SS	Surtees Society

<i>Taxatio Ecclesiastica</i>	<i>Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae...circa 1291</i> , ed T. Astle et al, Record Commission (London, 1802).
TCWAAS	<i>Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society</i>
TGDNHAS	<i>Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Archaeological Society</i>
<i>Test Karl</i>	<i>Testamenta Karleolensia</i> , ed R.S. Ferguson, CWAAS Extra Series 9 (Kendal, 1893).
TRHS	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
<i>Walsingham HA</i>	<i>Thomae Walsingham...Historia Anglicana</i> , 2 vols, ed H.T. Riley, RS 28:1 (London, 1863-4).
YBI	York, The Borthwick Institute of Historical Research

PART I

THE BISHOPS, 1292-1395

1. Origins and Preferment

In recent years historians have given a good deal of attention to the composition of the later medieval English episcopate, their backgrounds, and the means by which they obtained their bishoprics. Some fifty years ago Marion Gibbs employed four categories, those of religious, administrators and magnates, graduates, and diocesan and cathedral clergy, as a way of describing the bishops under Henry III.[1] Since then it has been usual to place later medieval prelates into such groupings. In his Birkbeck lectures of 1948, W.A. Pantin classified the fourteenth-century bishops as civil servants, scholars, religious, papal officials, diocesan administrators and cathedral clergy, and aristocrats. And he further concluded by the not very subtle method of taking a head-count every twenty-five years that at the beginning of the century the scholars predominated, at mid-century the civil servants, and at the end the aristocrats.[2] Later J.R.L. Highfield added even more categories in his study of the bishops under Edward III.[3] As valuable as the construction of such categories is for an understanding of the kind of training and experience that bishops of this period had and for the implications of group mentality, they do not always relate well to the selection process' active elements: the cathedral chapters, the pope, and the king.[4] Whereas civil servants or *curiales* normally gained their sees by way of royal influence, this was not always so, and the category of religious includes such disparate types as the chapter-

elected Hamo Hethe, the papal provisor Robert Kilwardby, and the royally nominated Simon Langham. The trends in episcopal appointments are best observed in relation to the individual sees themselves, keeping in mind their importance and value, and the varying success of the interested parties in obtaining them for their candidates.[5]

Canonically, there were two means of obtaining promotion to a bishopric in this period, election by the cathedral chapter and provision by the pope, though from the middle of the fourteenth century all successful candidates, whether elected or not, were provided.[6] To these canonical means must be added the external influence exercised by the king and at times by members of his family, the magnates, and high-ranking ecclesiastics. In 1214, King John had granted freedom of election by charter to the cathedral and conventual churches, but since then the king often exerted pressure on the chapters to elect his candidates, and their two-fold obligation to seek out his licence to elect and his assent to their choice gave him an important role to play in the formal process itself.[7] For the king, the ability to determine an appointment was of greater importance than the practice of other forms of clerical patronage based on reward and favour. Aside from being spiritual leaders, the bishops formed an important part of the political community, and the king naturally preferred men upon whom he knew that he could rely for support. This is not to say, however, that the king always had his way in the matter of episcopal promotions or that he even had a particular man in mind at every vacancy.

Edward I's attitude towards the electing chapters was markedly relaxed. Of the fifty-two appointments made during his reign, he seems to have influenced the outcome of around twelve only, and he easily accepted the *de grexio* elections of regulars, something to which his father had generally disagreed and which he usually had been able to have reversed.[8] At the end of the fourteenth century, however, Richard II clearly expected to have a much greater control over episcopal appointments.[9]

This perceptible change in attitude over the century was accompanied by first the growth and then the monopoly of papal provision as the means of preferment to a bishopric.[10] In the thirteenth century papal intervention was largely restricted to disputed elections, though special attention was naturally given to the two metropolitan churches of Canterbury and York, sometimes resulting in direct appointment to them by the apostolic see.[11] During the reign of Edward II, as a result of the extension of their provisory powers by Clement V and John XXII, provision to bishoprics became common, something like half of the appointments of that reign having been made in this way. Edward adjusted fairly well to the procedure and on several occasions felt able to nominate his candidates directly to the pope, who usually complied with his wishes.[12] The proportions remained roughly the same in the early years of the next reign until the election of Clement VI in 1342, when there began a wild upsurge in the incidence of provisions generally and from which time English bishoprics were exclusively

filled by such papal action. This and other issues created tension between England and Avignon which led to the anti-papal statutes of Provisors in 1351 and *Praemunire* in 1353, but this legislation effected little change, and it was not until 1375 that many of the problems were resolved.[13]

The fact remains that the system of papal provision could be of advantage to the king himself. The popes were not unwilling to provide royal nominees to bishoprics, though the practice was not nearly as extensive as Pantin would have us believe until the last decade of the century.[14] Between 1342 and the death of Urban VI in 1389, Edward III and Richard II were able to obtain the provision of around sixteen men, mostly officers of state, a figure standing at less than a third of the total of fifty-eight promotions for this period.[15] For their own part the popes following John XXII showed a good deal of restraint in the appointment of papal bureaucrats to English sees. Whereas during his seventeen-year pontificate Pope John had promoted four such men, in the period from 1342 to 1389 no more than six were advanced.[16] On the other hand, even if there was no flood of papal *curiales* taking up bishoprics in England, there can be no doubt that the influence of the papacy in this period on the composition of the episcopal bench was profound indeed. A sizeable group of regulars, chiefly mendicants, and some seculars were provided who had caught the papal eye and who under other circumstances would probably not have been considered for preferment, though they were usually given sees of lesser importance.[17] Also, the papacy

occasionally gave consideration to nominations other than the king's, resulting in a number of direct provisions of younger sons and protégés of certain magnates and members of the royal family.[18] This, however, probably does not represent any great departure from a former practice of magnatial influence exerted on cathedral chapters, the extent of which cannot certainly be determined. In any case, there is no evidence that the king was actually opposed to any of these appointments, and, indeed, he may well have actively supported some of them.

Before 1342 the ability of an individual cathedral chapter to elect a bishop without interference to a large extent depended upon how much interest the bishopric's revenues might arouse at Westminster or the papal curia. The two metropolitan sees of Canterbury and York carried with them extensive temporalities as well as prestige, and the sees of Winchester, Durham, Ely, Lincoln, Salisbury, and London were fabulously wealthy by any standards.[19] Generally, if the king, and at times the pope, wished to reward clerics in their service, it was one of these that would be the prize. Conceivably, it was easier for the king to control elections in the secular chapters, simply due to the fact that many of the canonries were held by royal servants, but just the same about one-half of the appointments made to these churches would seem to have been the result of elections of men freely chosen by the chapters themselves.[20] At the same time it is easily demonstrable that the regular chapters, by nature more introspective, tended, though not overwhelmingly, to

elect members of their own communities.[21]

After 1342 the number of chapter-elected bishops declined sharply. On only twenty occasions from this date did the papacy confirm elections by providing the bishops-elect, and while nine of these cases involved the promotion of royal candidates, it is striking that in twelve cases the bishoprics were of middling or poor value.[22] Throughout the reign of Edward I and most of the fourteenth century, royal candidates were rarely appointed to such lesser sees. John XXII and his successors, however, took quite a different view of them, and when they did not confirm the chapters' elections, they tended to fill the vacancies by provision of their own choices, most notably illustrated by the series of friars and papal *curiales* appointed to the Welsh bishoprics of Bangor and Llandaff.[23] Such depressed royal interest in the less valuable sees changed radically in the reign of Richard II, who successfully obtained them for his coterie of clerical companions, mostly friars.[24] The king's greatly tightened hold on episcopal appointments, most evident in the last decade of his reign, may be explained by the weakened political position of Urban VI and Boniface IX brought about by the Great Schism. As the split in the church came to be recognised as something more than temporary, the rival popes were driven to near subservience to the demands of any ruler who would render them allegiance. Even after the schism was healed, the papacy was unable to make a full recovery of its former powers, and thenceforward its role in the creation of bishops in England was largely reduced to that of a rubber

stamp in the manner of issuing bulls of provision to the foregone choices of the king.[25]

The pattern of appointments to the see of Carlisle in this period reflects very well the general trends observable in the other less valuable bishoprics of the realm. Between 1292 and 1395 the diocese of Carlisle was ruled by five bishops. In 1292 and 1332 the canons of Carlisle successfully elected two of their own number as bishops, John Halton and John Kirkby, but their election in 1325 of William Airmyn, probably a royal nominee, was superseded by John XXII's provision of John Ross, one of several auditors of causes in the sacred palace promoted by successive fourteenth-century popes.[26] In the second half of the century the chapter twice elected canons of their house. In the first instance, the election of John Horncastle in 1352 was overturned by Innocent VI's provision of Gilbert Welton, who seems to have impressed either the pope or some influential residents at the *curia* as suitable for promotion when on business at Avignon. On the second occasion in 1363, however, Urban V allowed the election of Thomas Appleby to stand by providing him to the see, one of only two *de grexio* regular bishops whose elections were so confirmed by the papacy after 1342.[27] Upon his death in 1395 Appleby was followed in quick succession by two of Richard II's clerical friends, the Dominican Robert Reade and the Westminster monk Thomas Marks.

On 23 April 1292 the canons of Carlisle elected as bishop their *confrater* John Halton.[28] His predecessor Ralph Irton, another Augustinian, had died on 29 February at the

manor of Linstock.[29] Halton himself and Walter Wilford had been chosen by the chapter to relay this news to the king and to obtain his *congé d'élire*, which was granted on 23 March.[30] The king signified his assent on 26 May to the archbishop of York's vicar-general, who confirmed the election for his master, and on 18 June writs were issued for the restoration of the bishopric's temporalities.[31] On 14 September Halton was consecrated at York.[32]

The place-name from which Bishop Halton's surname was derived is a common one in the north of England, and though not actually represented in Cumberland, the bishop himself probably came from a minor family holding land there.[33] His niece, one Sibyl Halton, probably the daughter of an elder brother, appears to have inherited an eighth part of the manor of Ousby, which passed on her death in 1328 to her son John by her second marriage to Adam Carleton, but by 1369 it was once again in the hands of the Halton family.[34] The date of the bishop's birth must be left to conjecture. It is likely that he was over thirty at the time of his election, but given that his episcopate lasted until 1324, it is doubtful that he had passed the age of forty. So the years 1252 to 1262 might be assigned as the probable time within which he was born. Other details of his earlier career remain sketchy. He is known to have attended Oxford, but it is uncertain whether he did so as an Augustinian canon of Carlisle or whether he even took a degree.[35]

Bishop Halton died at the episcopal manor of Rose on All Saints day, 1324.[36] On 16 November the king granted

custody of the temporalities to his clerk Robert Barton, and on 26 November, following official notification of the vacancy by Brothers Roger Paul and William Hurworth, he conceded to the chapter his licence to elect.[37] It is probable that the king sent back with Paul and Hurworth his nomination of the keeper of the privy seal, William Airmyn, who was subsequently elected bishop on 7 January 1325.[38] The king sent to the archbishop signification of his assent to the election on 17 January, and Barton was ordered to restore the temporalities to Airmyn on 19 February.[39] Nevertheless, John XXII had reserved the see of Carlisle and on 13 February had provided Master John Ross, DCL, a papal auditor of causes.[40] The pope informed the king of the provision on 7 March in reply to a letter written in Airmyn's favour, and on 14 April Airmyn made known to Archbishop Melton his decision to resign the see on account of the reservation and provision.[41] Ross had already been consecrated at Avignon by Bertrand de la Tour, cardinal bishop of Tusculum on 24 February, and on 25 March he was ordered to depart for his diocese to take up its administration.[42] On 20 June the temporalities of the bishopric were restored to him.[43]

Like his fellow auditor and provisor Adam Orleton, Ross was a native of Herefordshire and the son of a town-dwelling family.[44] He was born in the market town of Ross-on-Wye to Roger le Mercer and his wife Sibyl, certainly no later than 1269.[45] By 1289 he had incepted as master and was subdean of Hereford cathedral.[46] In 1291 Bishop Swinfield of Hereford appointed him as his proctor at the papal *curia*, and

he had taken his doctorate in civil law by 1300, when he was a member of Archbishop Winchelsea's *familia*. [47] From 1300 to 1304 Ross was continuously employed in Rome as Winchelsea's proctor, and he may have remained resident at the *curia* until as late as 1306, when Swinfield wrote asking him to further the cause of the canonisation of Thomas Cantilupe. [48] On 27 November 1308 Winchelsea appointed him official of the court of Canterbury, which post he held probably until 1315, when he was acting as Archbishop Reynolds' chancellor. [49] In the meantime he had acquired extensive ecclesiastical preferment, including the archdeaconry of Shropshire, prebends at Salisbury, Wells, Hereford, and Wingham, and various parish churches. [50] He seems to have been befriended by the English cardinal, Thomas Jorz of S Sabina, who was promoting his interests in 1306, and whose clerk he was called in 1310. [51] Such associations had undoubtedly proved helpful in 1317, when Ross' legal career was furthered by John XXII's appointment of him as an auditor of causes in the sacred palace, in which position he remained until his provision to the see of Carlisle in 1325. [52]

Bishop Ross' death took place some time before 4 May 1332, when custody of the temporalities was granted to the prior and convent of Carlisle. [53] On 11 May a licence to elect was issued to Brothers William Hurworth and Richard Whittrigg, who had brought the news of the bishop's death to the king. [54] The canons, probably aware that the see was reserved to the pope, wasted no time in holding an election, and by 18 May the king was able to signify to the arch-

bishop his assent to their choice of John Kirkby, prior of Carlisle.[55] Archbishop Melton confirmed the election on 2 July, and on 9 July the king ordered the temporalities to be restored to him.[56] At Bishop Burton on 19 July the archbishop, assisted by Bishop Beaumont of Durham and Roland Jorz, formerly archbishop of Armagh, consecrated him.[57] Nevertheless, there was a protracted period of uncertainty as to whether John XXII would allow the election to stand, but finally on 4 December 1333 he confirmed Kirkby as bishop in consideration of the requests addressed to him by the king and by the chapter and city of Carlisle.[58] Bishop Kirkby later sent warm thanks to both the pope and Jacques Fournier, cardinal priest of S Priscia and the future Pope Benedict XII, whose help had been enlisted to intercede with Pope John on Kirkby's behalf.[59]

The name Kirkby was so common in the north that it is quite useless to speculate on the bishop's family connections, but given that the provenance of the fourteenth-century canons of Carlisle was almost exclusively local, it is probable that he was born in either Cumberland or Westmorland, perhaps at Kirkby Stephen or Kirkby Thore.[60] He entered Carlisle priory during the episcopate of John Halton, who ordained him subdeacon on 23 December 1312, deacon on 10 March 1313, and priest on 23 March 1314.[61] If it may be assumed that he had passed the canonical age of twenty-five at the time of his ordination to the priesthood, his birth must have taken place in or before 1289. He was probably elected prior in July 1325, about which time Prior

Simon Haltwhistle died, and when the canons sought Bishop Ross' licence to elect a successor.[62] In any case he was certainly prior by 1330, when the chapter was engaged in a bitter dispute with the lawyer Bishop Ross over certain tithes and their rights in the churches appropriated to the priory, in the course of which Prior Kirkby incurred excommunication. The dissensions between them had still not been resolved at the time of Ross' death, and in October 1333 Kirkby as bishop confirmed to the priory the tithes and rights in dispute and actually revoked the sentences of excommunication which his predecessor had fulminated against himself as prior and the canons of Carlisle.[63]

The second fourteenth-century bishop of Carlisle drawn from the secular clergy, Gilbert Welton, was also chosen and provided by the pope, though he in fact had had no previous connection with the *curia*. Bishop Kirkby died on 23 November 1352.[64] Brothers Richard Ridale and Thomas Appleby carried the news of the vacancy to the king, who on 3 December granted the chapter his *congé d'élire*, and who on 12 December granted custody of the temporalities to Richard Hoton and Robert Kirkoswald.[65] Once again the canons chose their prior, John Horncastle, and on 10 January 1353 the king signified his assent to the election to the dean and chapter of York, administrators of the province, *sede vacante*. [66] On 22 February the temporalities of the bishopric were ordered to be restored to him, and the bishop-elect undertook the administration of the diocese.[67] However, on 13 February Innocent VI had provided to the see Gilbert Welton, DCL,

who was in Avignon to collect the *pallium* of Archbishop Thoresby of York, and who, it would appear, had impressed the pope as suitable for advancement.[68] He was consecrated at Avignon on 21 April by the pope himself, and before he left the *curia* he was granted a faculty to retain his prebends in York and Southwell for a further year, so that the pope could have the disposition of them afterwards, as, since the archbishop still awaited his *pallium*, they would otherwise have fallen to the king.[69] Writs were issued for the restoration of the temporalities on 26 June.[70] On 12 July the new bishop appointed Master John Welton to take possession of the temporalities from the royal escheators and of the episcopal chapel with its contents and the registers, rolls, and archives of his predecessors from the prior of Carlisle.[71]

Welton's origins are uncertain, but he perhaps came from a family of that name holding land in Northamptonshire.[72] Like Ross he studied law at Oxford, and by January 1334 he had incepted as doctor of civil law. Over the next few years he was busily engaged in chop-church activities, by 1343 having exchanged his way through seven rectories and the mastership of a hospital.[73] By at least 1342 Welton had become a member of the *familia* of Thomas Bek, bishop of Lincoln, on whose request Clement VI reserved to him a canonry, prebend, or dignity of Lincoln, while he was at the *curia* in August of that year, probably on some of Bishop Bek's business.[74] In 1343 he acquired the prebend of Eaton in Southwell and in 1347 the prebend of Osbaldwick in York,

but possession of the prebend of South Scarle in Lincoln to which he laid claim remained in dispute until his promotion to the see of Carlisle, when he resigned his claims to a kinsman, Nicholas Welton.[75] After the death of Bishop Bek in 1347, he became active in the diocese of York. He was named by Archbishop Zouche as one of his executors when he drew up his will in 1349, and in 1351 he acted as Zouche's commissary jointly with Bishop Kirkby, whom he was soon to succeed at Carlisle, at a convocation held in May.[76] Also, Archbishop Thoresby's choice of him to collect his *pallium* shows that he had become by then an established figure in the York chapter.

Bishop Welton died on 29 December 1362.[77] On 18 January 1363 the king granted the chapter of Carlisle his licence to elect a successor, and on 30 January custody of the temporalities was given to Master John Welton and Clement Skelton.[78] Again the canons elected as bishop one of their fellows, Thomas Appleby, BCnL. His name at least was not unknown at the *curia*. He had been a papal penitentiary in England, and in January 1363 (before his election) he had received a favourable response from the pope to a petition requesting provision to the priorate of Lucenay, in the diocese of Nevers.[79] It is in fact unclear whether Appleby was in England or in France at the time of his election. If he was in England, he evidently deemed it necessary to go in person to the *curia* to seek papal approval for his promotion, and on 12 June Urban V saw fit to provide him to the see after first quashing the election.[80] On 18 June he was con-

secrated at Avignon in the chapel of the hospice of Nicholas, cardinal deacon of S Maria in Via Lata by Pierre de St-Martial, bishop of Rieux, assisted by the bishops of Famiers and Lismore.[81] Appleby was probably back in England by 10 August, when the king commanded that the temporalities be restored to him.[82] And on 26 November the bishop was solemnly enthroned in Carlisle cathedral, for which occasion special invitations were sent out to prelates and other ecclesiastics, magnates and knights, and the bishop's friends clerk and lay.[83]

Appleby came from a local family that had sent several sons into the church. In 1368 he wrote of the special affection that he held for the parish church of Caldbeck, which would appear to be in reference to the incumbency there between about 1311 and 1333 of Master Adam Appleby, Bishop Halton's official and perhaps an uncle of Bishop Appleby.[84] His elder brother, Master John Appleby, BCL, was rector of Kirkoswald at the time of his election and was later appointed official and collated to the archdeaconry of Carlisle by the bishop.[85] A possible relative was another John Appleby, DCL, who was provided in 1365 to the deanery of St Paul's, and who left a small amount of money to the parish church of Appleby and to Carlisle priory at his death in 1389.[86] Also, Bishop Appleby counted among his cousins Master Henry Bowet, DCn and CL, who was appointed in 1400 to the see of Bath and Wells and in 1407 to that of York, which he held until his death in 1423.[87] Appleby himself probably entered Carlisle priory in the later years of the

episcopate of John Kirkby. He may be first noticed as a canon of Carlisle in 1352, when he and another reported the news of Kirkby's death to Edward III, and shortly afterwards his zealous pursuit of a mortuary of Kirkby's claimed by the priory was considered obnoxious by Bishop Welton and the ecclesiastical authorities in York.[88] He had taken the degree of bachelor of canon law by January 1363, and, as already cited above, he had been for a time a papal penitentiary and had been favoured by Urban V with provision to the priorate of Lucenay.[89] He died in the thirty-third year of his episcopate, on 5 December 1395.[90]

2. The Careers of the Bishops

With the single exception of John Ross, the five bishops of Carlisle whose episcopates are examined in this study were in various capacities closely involved in border affairs in the course of the fourteenth-century hostilities between England and Scotland. Only occasionally, notably at times of national instability, did they as prelates turn their attention to concerns outside the marches. For the successful pursuit of its policy towards Scotland, in times both of war and of peace, the royal government required men on the scene who were familiar with local conditions and who could command support while faithfully executing the royal will. Although none of the northern bishops individually could at any time be considered to have been the most important local force, they nevertheless played vital rôles as negotiators,

wardens of the march, overseers of border defences, and even as military leaders in the field, and as a group they enjoyed the trust of the king. While it is perhaps misleading to view these bishops, whose activities were primarily directed to the rule of their diocese, so much in the context of Anglo-Scottish relations, the conflict between the two kingdoms was a principal factor touching church life in the north. The bishops were in one way or another constantly concerned with the current state of affairs on the border, and this section is intended to provide as much a background of the events which so profoundly affected the area as a discussion of the bishops' involvement in those events.[91]

So natural was the place of the bishop of Carlisle in affairs relating to Scotland that within a month of his consecration John Halton, a man with whom the king was barely acquainted, had become involved in the debate for the crown of the northern kingdom. His predecessor Ralph Irton had acted for Edward I from the outset of the difficulties following the death of Alexander III. With Anthony Bek, bishop of Durham, he had concluded the treaty of Birgham with the Scots, the provisions of which arranged for a marriage between the child Queen Margaret and Edward of Carnarvon.[92] And following her death in the Orkneys, Edward had despatched these same bishops along with John Vescy to Scotland to recommend to the Guardians, who had sought the king's advice, that they accept him as adjudicator in the matter of the succession.[93] The consequent proceedings which eventually resolved the problem began at Norham on 10 May 1291, with

Irton in attendance, but there was an immediate adjournment to give the Scots time to consider Edward's claim to the overlordship of Scotland. When the assembly reconvened in early June the Scots preferred to hedge the issue, but the king simply demanded and obtained from the competitors, anxious for a favourable outcome, their agreement to abide by his decision with acknowledgement of his rights as over-lord. A body of one hundred and four auditors was appointed to hear the arguments, twenty-four of whom were the king's nominees and the remaining eighty those of Robert Bruce and of John Balliol and his brother-in-law John Comyn, the claims of the former two having already been recognised as particularly strong. Edward's list of nominees included Bishops Irton of Carlisle, Bek of Durham, Louth of Ely, and Burnell of Bath and Wells, his chancellor, but the death of Irton at his manor of Linstock early in the following year ended his participation in the matter.[94]

Bishop Halton seems to have simply replaced Irton as an auditor of the Great Cause in the autumn following his election. He was present at Berwick on 14 October 1292 for the resumption of the proceedings which had been broken off in June, and the following day he was issued royal letters of protection for as long as he remained in the king's service.[95] Later that month he was among those whose opinion the king requested regarding which law he should apply for the making of his decision, and on 3 November he was one of a group who rejected the claim of Robert Bruce, which was based on his closer degree of kinship to David I, the common royal

ancestor of the three most considerable competitors, Balliol, Bruce, and John Hastings. Exactly two weeks later, on 17 November, the bishop was able to hear at the final judgement that the king had on the principle of primogeniture, which he and others of the council had advocated, decided that the Scottish crown was of the right and inheritance of John Balliol. Halton remained with the king until at least the end of the year and witnessed Balliol's oath of fealty to Edward I at Norham on 20 November and his performance of homage at Newcastle on 26 December.[96]

Halton's movements in 1293 are not entirely known. Entries do not begin in his register until late that year, though from other sources it is known that he was in his diocese from at least the end of March and that in late April and the middle of May he was in London.[97] Halton may well have then returned to Scotland to attend to other pressing business inherited from his predecessor, the collection there of the sexennial Crusading Tenth imposed on the clergy by Nicholas IV for the purposes of Edward I's projected campaign in the Holy Land. The papal letters addressed to the bishops of Carlisle and Caithness appointing them chief collectors of the tax in Scotland were issued at Orvieto on 18 March 1291.[98] The logical arrangement for the execution of the papal mandate would naturally have been a division of the responsibilities geographically, with the bishop of Caithness supervising collection in the northern part, and the bishop of Carlisle in the southern part of the country. However, Bishop Alan of Caithness died late the same year, and it was

only in 1296 that a successor was finally provided to the see.[99] Therefore, at the commencement of his episcopate Halton found that the whole of the charge had devolved upon him.[100]

The bishop was nevertheless probably able to take advantage of groundwork already laid by Irton, and while he alone was responsible for the overall levy of the tenth, the real work of collection fell to the sub-collectors assigned in each diocese. As in England, the pope required that a new assessment be made of the income of benefices, which was to be closer to their true values, and Tout has shown that the valuation of Scotland's ecclesiastical wealth, totalling £39,479 16s 8d, was probably very close to that of Master Baiamondo dei Vicci, who had been collector there of the crusading tenth imposed by Gregory X at the second council of Lyons in 1274.[101] The proceeds arising from the tenth were to be kept on deposit and paid over to the king on the pope's direct command only once he had actually set out on the crusade which he had promised to lead.[102]

The surviving records do not allow Halton to be observed performing his duties as principal collector in Scotland until the summer of 1294, at which time instalments of the third year of the tax were due. In late July he travelled across the border, and for the next two weeks while staying mainly with the monks of Kelso he was engaged in the audit of his deputy collectors' accounts and other business relating to the tenth. The following year he took up residence for a short time at Jedburgh abbey, and dates ranging between 8 and

30 July were assigned to the collectors for the audit of accounts, but the bishop himself appears to have personally conducted only three of these, and on 17 July he issued a commission to the abbot of Jedburgh to act for him in the remaining transactions.[103]

The medieval tax-collector, never a popular figure, inevitably encountered difficulties and resistance both from those able and from those unable to pay, and Halton was no exception. The few acquittances issued to sub-collectors which the bishop had copied into his register show that by 1294 payments were largely in arrears. On 28 July the abbot and convent of Arbroath, collectors in the dioceses of Aberdeen and Dunkeld, from which jointly the sum of £596 10s 5 1/2d was due each year, paid arrears of £212 14s 1d. About the same time the dean and chapter of Dunblane, who were bound to pay £137 13s 2 3/4d annually as collectors in their diocese, paid over £260 in arrears of the first two years of the tax. And the abbot and convent of Dunfermline on 1 August accounted for the staggering sum of £677 13s 3 1/2d paid out of the £685 17s 6 1/4d owed from the archdeaconry of St Andrews the previous year.[104] Excommunication was the penalty for non-payment, but the numbers of defaulters were by no means restricted to the lower clergy who could invoke poverty as an excuse. In August 1294 Halton was forced to excommunicate the bishop of Dunkeld, who was still obdurately under the sentence ten months later, and action was also taken against the bishop of Dunblane for his failure to meet payments. He was more gentle in his treatment of the bishops

of St Andrews and Glasgow, to whom were sent careful warnings that he would be compelled to proceed against them unless they satisfied the collectors of the tenths due from them, even though the bishop of Glasgow was behind in payments by as much as two years.[105]

All the while that the bishop was active in the business of the crusading tenth, relations between the crowns of England and Scotland were steadily deteriorating.[106] Within just a few weeks of his judgement in favour of Balliol, Edward I was hearing an appeal from Scotland as superior lord, in contravention of the treaty of Birgham, by which the Scots felt he was still bound. King John sent to the English king, still at Newcastle, a delegation bearing a petition exhorting him to hold to his promise to observe the laws and customs of Scotland and not to allow pleas to be moved outside of that country. The petition was at first examined by various councillors, including Bishop Halton, who were still with the king, but on 31 December 1292 Edward in reply stated unequivocally that he did not consider himself bound by any such promises and that, if needs be, he would in future cite King John himself to his courts to answer appeals. Rather than stand firm, two days later Balliol issued at Newcastle letters patent releasing Edward from any promises he had formerly made to the Scots and nullifying the treaty of Birgham.[107]

Rather than the flood of appeals from Scotland to the court of the king of England, as was formerly thought, Professor Barrow has pointed out that there was merely a

trickle, but that these appeals nevertheless served as a mechanism for Edward to impose his theory of superior lordship over the Scottish kingdom.[108] Coming to the parliament held in October 1293 at Westminster, Balliol again attempted to resist Edward on the question of appeals, but in the end he lost his nerve and was roundly humiliated.[109] It was now plain that Edward's policy towards Scotland was none other than to reduce the kingdom to a state of clientage and to render the Scottish crown a kind of exalted fief from which services and incidents would be exacted. Having bested the unfortunate Balliol on the issue of appellate jurisdiction, Edward next confronted him and the Scottish nobility with demands for military service.

In 1294 relations between England and France, strained by the problem of Gascony, completely broke down, and it was the resulting state of war which became the catalyst in the rupture between England and Scotland.[110] An autumn expedition was planned for the recovery of the duchy, and to this end Edward summoned not only his English tenants-in-chief but also King John, ten Scottish earls and sixteen barons to appear at Portsmouth on 1 September for the passage to France.[111] None of the Scots summoned appeared on the appointed day. In any case, on the eve of the expedition's embarkation the Welsh staged a full-scale revolt, and the assembled host at Portsmouth had to be sent to Wales to restore order. The king was kept occupied by the rebellion until the following March, though a force did sail for France in October under the leadership of his nephew, John of

Brittany.[112] In Scotland the mood of defiance remained firmly entrenched, and developments in 1295 signalled the widening gulf between the Scots and the English king. To insure against Balliol's usual pliancy resulting in another shameful submission to Edward I, the government of the kingdom was effectively taken out of his hands at a parliament held in Stirling that July, and a council of twelve was established to conduct affairs in his name. At the same time ambassadors were sent to France to negotiate a treaty of alliance with Philip IV, which was concluded in October and also provided for the marriage of King John's son Edward and Jeanne, daughter of Charles de Valois.[113]

The English probably came to know of the Scots' dealings with the French within a short time. Bishop Halton was in Scotland at the time of the Stirling parliament, and it does not seem possible that he would not have immediately learned of the events there. Edward reacted in the autumn by demanding that his enemies be excluded from Scotland and that for the security of his realm the castles and towns of Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh be handed over to him until the end of the war with France. He selected the bishop of Carlisle and the abbot of Newminster to deliver this ultimatum, authorising them on 12 October to obtain custody of the castles from the king of Scots.[114] It appears, however, that Halton alone undertook the mission to the Scottish court, as only he was named in the safe-conduct issued by King John on 8 November for the return journey to the king of England. He took with him, no doubt, the negative reply to Edward's demands,

to which, according to the Lanercost chronicler, both a Scottish parliament and an assembly of the Scottish clergy unanimously agreed.[115]

By March 1296 both sides were mobilised for war, the English forces gathering at Newcastle on the first day of the month, and the Scottish army at Caddonlee near Selkirk on the eleventh, in accordance with their respective summonses.[116] Following a minor skirmish over Wark castle, each kingdom was invaded by its enemy within the space of a week, the Scots in the west and the English in the east. On Easter Monday, 26 March, an impressive force led by the earls of Buchan, Menteith, Strathearn, Lennox, Ross, Atholl, and Mar forded the Solway firth and burned and slaughtered its way from Arthuret and through Nicholforest to Carlisle, the keeping of which the king had recently committed to Robert Bruce, son of the late competitor for the Scottish throne.[117] The invaders first burned the suburbs and then launched an offensive on Carlisle itself. Within the city a spy named Patrick, whom the citizens had incarcerated shortly before, had broken free from the gaol, set the building alight, and then climbed atop the city walls from which he shouted encouragement to his compatriots until his recapture. Only four years before Carlisle had suffered a devastating fire.[118] And now the wind spread the flame, which consumed a great part of the city and caused confusion and panic until it was eventually extinguished. On 28 March the Scots, who had perhaps hoped to surprise, overwhelm, and take the city, returned back across the border.[119]

That same day, Easter Wednesday, the English army under the king crossed the Tweed at Coldstream and on 30 March took Berwick, the commercial centre of Scotland. Shortly afterwards, probably in the hopes of drawing the English out of Scotland, the Scots swept across the border into Northumberland, raided for several days in Redesdale, Tynedale, and Coquetdale, burned Hexham, and retreated through Nicholforest in Cumberland after passing a night at Lanercost. However, at the end of April the Scots under Balliol were routed at Dunbar, and in the course of the next few weeks the key lowland castles of Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling, which was found totally abandoned, fell to the English.[120] In late June, it having become evident that the war was lost, King John sent envoys to Edward at Perth to sue for peace, and following a series of humiliating proceedings Balliol resigned the kingdom of Scotland into his hands at Montrose on 8 July. Following a triumphant progress which took him up the east coast as far as Elgin, Edward was in Berwick in late August, and there he held a parliament at which provisions were made for the future governance of the conquered land. The throne of Scotland was to remain vacant. Earl Warenne was to be left in charge as the king's lieutenant, and under him was erected an administrative machine modelled upon that of England. Then, feeling the country to have been secured, the king returned south.[121]

It has been stated that the war of 1296 and the subsequent revolt against the English rule made Halton's task as collector of the crusading tenth impossible and that con-

sequently the collection of the final two years' tax was not attempted.[122] This assumption is based on the fact that in 1301 the bishop's proctor accounted for only the first four years of the tenth in Scotland, but for all six years in the Isle of Man, to the abbot of Waltham and the dean of St Paul's, whom Boniface VIII had appointed to relieve Halton of the collectorship.[123] However, a more likely interpretation is that the tenth in Scotland, as it had been after three years in England, was suspended. Under the terms of Nicholas IV's grant the king was not to receive any money until his crusade was actually under way, but as the realisation of this project grew less likely and as the king's need for war funds in 1294 grew more urgent, it was deemed advantageous to have the clergy free to grant a subsidy directly to the crown. Edward therefore had the papal tax discontinued, and in September the clergy were compelled to concede one half of their assessed income for one year to him. Payment of the crusading tenth recommenced in England in 1300 but ceased again in 1301 after the imposition by Boniface VIII of a new triennial tenth.[124] It seems probable that no more was demanded of Halton and the Scottish clergy than of their English counterparts, while collection was taken to full term in the Isle of Man due more than anything else to its anomalous position.

Halton did not in fact return to Scotland after 1295 for the purpose of auditing his deputy collectors' accounts, but it appears that the collection of arrears continued.[125] The account of 1301 shows that the bishop was charged with

the sum of £15,847 4s 10d, of which £13,585 19s 1 3/4d had been deposited with Italian merchants, and £2261 5s 8 1/4d were in arrears. Acquittances were produced showing that amounts totalling £11,896 10s 8d had been paid to representatives of the Florentine company of Pulici and Rimbertyni, and £1666 0s 5 3/4d had been paid to another Florentine company, the Spini.[126] The latter sum could only have been assigned to the Spini after 1295, as it was not until then that Boniface VIII introduced them into the process as 'merchants of the chamber', and probably represents most or all of what was collected in arrears in the years following the outbreak of war.[127]

On the surface Halton's performance of his duties as collector in Scotland appears to be quite impressive, with the amount for which he accounted representing nearly eighty-six percent of the total due. In fact it is questionable whether as much as £13,585 19s 1 3/4d was ever raised by his sub-collectors, and it is certain that not all of the money assigned to the Italian merchants was actually secured by them, even though he had received their acquittances. A total of £8118 19s 9 3/4d in bonds and chirographs had been assigned to the Pulici and Rimbertyni in 1296, and the sums to have been paid by each sub-collector or depositary are listed in the bishop's register.[128] The collectors of the diocese of Glasgow and of the archdeaconry of Lothian were required to contribute £1073 19s 8d and £852 7s 6d, respectively, the exact sums for which they had been charged in the 1295 audit. But at that time they actually had on deposit no

more than £587 13s 1 1/4d and £423 19s 1 1/2d, respectively, with the remainder still outstanding.[129] In other words, in at least two cases the bishop had assigned the Italians money which was due but not yet collected, and it seems that as late as 1308 the company had still not realised more than £6000 of the payment.[130] In truth the Italian depositaries actually obtained no more than £7298 11s 8 3/4d, although the deputy collectors had levied something more than this amount. While the unsettled state of Scotland from 1296 undoubtedly hindered the collection of arrears, Halton's less successful showing was not directly the result of war but rather reflected a collectorship which had been troubled from the outset.

With the recurrence of hostilities in 1297 Halton became directly involved in the defence of the west march. From early that year widespread but isolated incidents directed against English rule were becoming frequent. By early summer resistance was turning into a more concerted movement, and by August it was reported to the king that the situation had reached critical proportions.[131] William Wallace and Andrew Moray already occupied positions of prominence, and valuable backing was given by the bishop of Glasgow, the Steward, William Douglas, and Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick.[132] According to Walter of Guisborough, earlier in the year Bishop Halton had had grave doubts about the younger Bruce's loyalties and after enticing him to Carlisle had compelled him to swear on the sacred mysteries and the cathedral's most precious relic, the sword by which St Thomas

of Canterbury was martyred, that he would faithfully aid the king against all enemies.[133] The earl's own father was still constable of Carlisle castle at this time and remained so until 13 October, when it was committed to Bishop Halton, who was to hold the post for six years.[134] It seems curious that the king would have left the keeping of so important a fortress in the hands of a man whose son had aligned himself with the Scots, but the royal government was clearly under the impression that the earl of Carrick would revert to his English allegiance, and as late as 14 November the bishop and Robert Clifford were empowered to receive him into the king's peace.[135]

Halton's custody of Carlisle castle began at an unpropitious time. Only the month before at Stirling Warenne had suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of Wallace and Moray, after which Edward I's administration could claim to control no more than the south-east of Scotland.[136] In October Wallace led his forces into Northumberland, and from Newcastle he marched west wasting everything in his path.[137] On 11 November, just four weeks from the date of Halton's commission, the Scots arrived outside the walls of Carlisle, and for the next four weeks, until 8 December, they laid siege to the city.[138] The bishop was in command of the city during the siege, and the accounts of his expenses as constable give some details of its defence against the Scots. He had already retained four men-at-arms who were permanently attached to the castle, drawing pay of a shilling a day, and he further employed during the siege fourteen crossbowmen at

4d a day and ninety-five foot soldiers at 2d a day.[139]

Though not large, the garrison with the aid of the citizens and the two 'engines' in the castle nevertheless succeeded in repelling the invaders, who continued on to ravage Inglewood and Allerdale, and then returned to Northumberland for further plunder.[140]

The king meanwhile was fully occupied on the continent, and as long as he remained absent from England, any measures taken to counter the Scots' successes were limited. At some time before Christmas Clifford led a brief retaliatory raid of little value into Annandale.[141] On a larger scale, earl Warenne was put in charge of an expedition, in which the earls and magnates left in England and lately in opposition to the king were to participate, with the aim of arresting any further Scottish gains. On 14 January 1298 under the presidency of Warenne they met at a preliminary convention at York, attended by Bishop Halton. The royal confirmation of the Great Charter and the Charter of the Forest, which had recently been extracted from the king as the price for co-operation, was read publicly, and Bishop Halton dressed in his pontificals formally pronounced sentence of excommunication against all violators. With this accomplished, the forces gathered and marched to the relief of Berwick and Roxburgh, which castles had both been under siege, and then awaited the arrival of the king.[142]

Edward was back in England by the middle of March and immediately set in motion preparations for a major campaign in the north. His determination finally to subdue the Scots

was of such magnitude that the English governmental administration was uprooted from Westminster and moved to York, where it was to remain until 1304. At a parliament held there at the end of May the king received the full support of the magnates and was formally reconciled with the earls of Norfolk and Hereford, who with the archbishop of Canterbury had been his main opponents in the dissensions of the previous year.[143] Roxburgh was appointed as the venue for a muster late in June, and once Edward had joined his men there, the army began the advance north.[144] Without having encountered the enemy along the way, they arrived at Temple Liston, which lay south of the Forth between Edinburgh and Linlithgow, and there awaited the coming of provisions by sea.[145] A part of the Scottish forces in the meantime undertook a raid into Cumberland, and from 20 July to 2 August Carlisle was once again under siege. The bishop's presence at Greystoke on 1 August would seem to indicate that he was not this time within the besieged city.[146] His accounts show that the garrison was greatly under strength during the assault, probably because many able-bodied men had gone into Scotland with the king's army. The bishop still had four men-at-arms, who formed the permanent core of his garrison, but on this occasion he or his deputy was apparently able to draft in an additional force of ten crossbowmen and thirty foot soldiers only for the city's defence.[147] By the time they gave up their fourteen-day siege, however, a major battle had been fought between the English army and a force under the command of William Wallace

on 22 July at Falkirk, which ended in a crushing defeat for the Scots.[148]

Nevertheless, Scottish resistance did not collapse, and even though Wallace lost his position as national leader, a new broadly based coalition replaced him in the guardianship of the realm, consisting of the earl of Carrick, the younger Comyn of Badenoch, and, joining them at a later date, William Lamberton, bishop of St Andrews.[149] Edward's victory did not in fact bring with it any solid territorial gains, and he was still a long way from the attainment of his objective. For the next few weeks following the battle he busied himself in the Scottish lowlands, but little more was accomplished than the taking of Lochmaben castle, which occupied a position of considerable strategic importance in the Bruce lordship of Annandale on the west march.[150]

Both William Rishanger and Walter of Guisborough relate that after his departure from Scotland the king distributed some of the lands 'forfeited' by certain Scottish rebels among his followers, of whose loyalties he could be assured.[151] Previously Edward seems to have been anxious that the landowning classes of Scotland remain undisturbed in the possession of their estates, and that those who had been hostile to his rule nevertheless be afforded ample opportunity to come into his peace. His attitude had clearly now hardened. Such grants would have had the effect of polarising Scottish support, but the king's chief motive, reward aside, was probably a wish to create a group loyal to the English crown with strong interests of their own in the

existence of a subjugated Scotland. At Carlisle on 25 September 1298 Edward issued at least three grants, those being to the earl of Warwick, the bishop of Carlisle, and Robert Tony, involving the lands of eleven Scotsmen.[152] The see of Carlisle was given 500 marks of lands and tenements in the counties of Lanark, Edinburgh, and Roxburgh, which had belonged to five veterans of the battle of Falkirk.[153] How long Halton was able to enjoy the revenues from these lands is uncertain. In 1303 he appointed the abbot of Jedburgh to act as his attorney and 'appropriator' in the lands granted in Roxburghshire, which lay nearest the English border, with responsibility to answer for the income from them, and a petition of indeterminate date shows that he had been able to take possession of at least some of the lands in Lanarkshire and Edinburghshire.[154] But Edward had left an essentially unsettled situation behind him in 1298 with the Scots perched north of the Forth always ready to encroach on English-held territory, and even if the bishop had succeeded in acquiring all of the lands granted in the counties of Lanark and Edinburgh, these would certainly have been lost by 1314, when the castles of Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling were all in Scottish hands. Nevertheless, the royal grant was not forgotten and was probably an important factor behind Bishop Kirkby's military activities after the renewal of war in 1332.[155]

Until the campaign of 1303 the English made no real progress in Scotland.[156] In late 1299 the Scots were able to take Stirling castle, the keeping of which was of

paramount importance for the carrying of the war north of the Forth, largely because support was withheld by the English magnates, whose relations with the king were once again under strain.[157] In the summer of 1300 the king led an expedition into Galloway by way of Carlisle, laid siege to and took Caerlaverock castle, but marched no further into Scotland. The following summer a new strategy was devised whereby the king led one contingent from Berwick while the prince of Wales led another from Carlisle with the aim of rounding up and closing in on the enemy. However, the plan did not meet with success. The king did take a chain of castles in the central lowlands, Selkirk, Peebles, and Bothwell, but the prince's forces did not advance to meet his father's and did nothing more than move along the northern shore of the Solway firth. However, by a truly determined effort beginning in May 1303 Edward was able, albeit temporarily, to crush the resistance and to bring the country to submission.[158] The route to northern Scotland blocked by the stronghold of Stirling, the English army crossed over the Forth directly into Fife by means of a pontoon bridge which the king had had made. As in 1296, Edward marched up the east coast and by September had reached as far as Kinloss abbey near Elgin, having reduced any opposition he met along the way. He then returned south to Dunfermline, which had been chosen as the site for his winter headquarters. The siege of Stirling began in May 1304, but by then the leading Scots had already capitulated. The following year William Wallace, the man whom Edward regarded as his greatest enemy,

was captured near Glasgow and executed as a traitor at Westminster.[159] The English victory seemed complete.

Unexpectedly, however, the situation was changed totally in the early months of 1306.[160] From 1298 to 1304 the revived guardianship in Scotland had been viewed as an interim arrangement to last only until the restoration of the exiled John Balliol could be effected, but Robert Bruce now stepped forward to claim the vacant throne. As early as February 1302 he had actually abandoned the Scots for reasons probably best represented as dissatisfaction with serving a cause which clinged so stubbornly to the image of a Balliol king.[161] Bruce was probably in fact seeking the support of King John's nephew, John Comyn of Badenoch, at the famous meeting of the two men at the Franciscan church of Dumfries in February 1306, at which the violent quarrel broke out that ended in Comyn's death. Over the next few weeks Bruce gathered his supporters and then making his way to Scone had himself crowned king of Scotland there on Lady day.[162]

Upon hearing of the coronation, Edward appointed Aymer de Valence his lieutenant in Scotland and sent him north with Robert Clifford and Henry Percy. The prince of Wales and other newly knighted companions were also soon sent off in time for an 8 July muster at Carlisle, while the king planned to follow later.[163] Before his departure it is likely that the king also took time to write to Clement V on the matter of Bruce's sacrilege and rebellion, and the pope's response to the news was to issue on 18 May a mandate to Archbishop Greenfield of York and Bishop Halton of Carlisle to publicly

denounce him and his adherents as excommunicates.[164] In the meantime Valence had routed Bruce and his forces at Methven near Perth. The new Scottish king was able to flee to the north, but the English captured many of his family and more important supporters and at some time later even his queen.[165] Edward's hopes of joining his troops in Scotland were dogged by his own failing health, but his presence north of the border was not urgently required with Bruce on the run. From Michaelmas to the beginning of March 1307 the king was laid up at Lanercost priory, unable to move any further, and for this period the focal point of governmental activity was there.[166] A parliament was held at Carlisle at the end of January, at which Bruce and his followers were solemnly excommunicated by the papal nuncio Pedro, cardinal of Spain and the other bishops present.[167] Indeed, from about this time Bruce was once again active on the Scottish mainland, and early in May at Loudon Hill near Kilmarnock he had a second confrontation with Valence, this time winning the day, whence he went on just a few days later to best the earl of Gloucester in a skirmish near Ayr.[168] Despite his ill health, the king now felt compelled to attend personally to the Scottish problem, setting out on 3 July from Carlisle, where he had moved from Lanercost in March, but four days later he was dead after having progressed no further than Burgh by Sands.

In the midst of this upheaval Bishop Halton found himself once again involved in the collection of papal taxes in Scotland. In 1305 Clement V imposed a biennial tenth on the

clergy of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, the first of three tenths of seven years' total duration which he granted to Edward I. Even though described as a Holy Land tenth, it in fact had nothing to do with a crusade. The king was given no conditions to fulfill in order to obtain the money raised, and indeed £2000 of the first year's tax were earmarked for the queen's uses, and all the proceeds of the second were assigned to the prince of Wales.[169] Bishops Dalderby of Lincoln and Baldock of London were appointed chief collectors throughout the British Isles, and they in turn on 21 April 1306 appointed Bishop Halton and John Sandale, chancellor of Dublin and the king's chamberlain in Scotland, as their deputy collectors there.[170] The choice of Halton was undoubtedly made on the strength of his past experience as principal collector, but on this occasion he does not appear to have been truly active in the matter. He at no time went to Scotland to audit accounts as previously, and only two letters from him concerning the tenth may be found in his register.[171] As the pope had imposed no conditions on the king, the proceeds could be paid directly into his coffers, and, given his position as royal chamberlain, it is logical to surmise that Sandale was left largely in charge.

Nevertheless, their commission coming as it did flush on Bruce's new initiative for Scottish independence, the two men faced grave problems. Instalments of the first year's tax were due on 24 June and 25 December 1306, but it was not until July 1307 that a payment was finally made into the royal wardrobe, and then it came to no more than £1223 6s

8d.[172] Fortunately, in 1308 Pope Clement issued a bull ordering a new valuation of Scottish benefices.[173] Acting on this mandate, Halton and Sandale appear to have arrived at the suspicious sum of £1222 3s 7d as the tax due for one year, less than half of the £3947 19s 8d at which Halton had previously assessed the Scottish tenth. Even so, only £561 18s 8 1/2d further were collected, and in their account to the exchequer the principal collectors explained that collection of the second term of the second year of the tenth had to be abandoned in Scotland on account of the war.[174]

Following his father's death, the new king, who was still in Scotland, quickly decided to end the royal campaign and by late August was back in England. In the years leading up to 1310 Edward II faced urgent constitutional problems, and Bruce was left largely free to strengthen his position in Scotland.[175] Although his seizure of the throne gave the cause of resistance to English domination a new impetus, in the minds of many Scots Robert I was an usurper, and he faced considerable opposition in the south-west, west, and north of Scotland. By March 1309, however, he was well enough established to hold a parliament at St Andrews, where it was ordained that overtures should be made for the renewal of the French alliance. English authority was by then largely restricted to the regions surrounding Roxburgh, Edinburgh, Stirling, and Perth, though a strategically good position was maintained in the south-west by the keeping of a line of castles from Caerlaverock and Dumfries to Ayr. Finally, in September 1310 after a year of postponements, an expedition

was led into Scotland, but the outcome was disappointing.[176] Edward stayed with the army only until November, and the following summer the campaign ended without a single engagement of Bruce's forces having taken place.[177]

In 1311 Bishop Halton travelled to France as a member of the English party at the general council of Vienne. By the bull *Regnans in caelis* issued on 12 August 1308, Clement V had summoned the council, which was to deal mainly with the question of the dissolution of the order of the Templars, for which Philip IV of France was persistently pressing the pope.[178] At a special assembly held at Brunton in Northumberland on 12 October 1309 Clement's envoys delivered to the clergy of the northern province their copy of the papal bull, which included a mandate to Archbishop Greenfield and Bishop Halton to act as proctors for their province at the council, which was scheduled to open on 1 October 1310.[179] In the intervening period evidence was to be gathered of the Templars' errors. This work, however, proceeded slowly, and eventually the pope was forced to postpone the meeting of the council to 1 October 1311.[180] Unlike their French colleagues, the English ecclesiastical authorities did not warm to the task, and ultimately they were able to put together very little evidence of the nature extracted across the Channel.[181] A provincial council was held at York to discuss the matter on 20 May 1310, only to be prorogued to 24 May 1311. The second meeting was also inconclusive, and it was not until 30 July that the desired condemnation was promulgated.[182] Within two weeks Greenfield had begun his

journey to Vienne, and Halton appears to have followed shortly afterwards at the end of August.[183] He was probably present in the cathedral at Vienne on 16 October to witness the pope's solemn opening of the council with a sermon and an outline of the problems to be resolved, after which commissions were set up to deliberate on these matters, the dominating issue remaining that of the Templars. The process took longer than anticipated, and the second of the three full sessions did not take place until 3 April 1312, but by this time Bishop Halton had already returned to England.[184]

Back in his diocese, Halton found that the English position in Scotland had greatly deteriorated and that the enemy were now capable of sweeping across the border and terrorising the northerners into paying large ransoms to secure freedom from attack for limited periods.[185] The previous September, while being plundered for the second time within a few weeks, the inhabitants of Northumberland had dearly bought a respite from Scottish incursions to last until the following Candlemas.[186] England itself was on the verge of civil war in 1312 following the execution in June of Edward II's favourite Piers Gaveston by the earls of Lancaster and Warwick.[187] Bruce took advantage of the disarray in England by launching an extensive raid on the north in August, on which occasion he extorted more money from the communities of all four of the northern counties in return for a truce to last until the following June.[188] The future security of the west march was furthermore

directly threatened by the loss to the Scots in early 1313 of Dumfries and Caerlaverock, and an end to the dissension between the king and the earls became of the utmost importance as the English hold on the Scottish lowlands continued to be eroded. A virtual challenge was issued to the government in June when the constable of Stirling, Philip Mowbray, entered into an agreement with King Robert's brother Edward, whereby the castle would be handed over to the Scots at midsummer 1314 if an army had not by then marched to its relief.[189]

Finally reconciled with Thomas of Lancaster in October after long and difficult negotiations, the king resolutely set about the task of organising an expedition to go to the aid of the garrison at Stirling. In December a military summons was issued for a 10 June muster at Berwick.[190] Greater urgency was lent to the situation by the loss in February and March of the castles of Roxburgh and Edinburgh, but nevertheless the earls of Lancaster, Warwick, Arundel, and Warenne pettily refused to participate in the campaign, because the summons had not been made in accordance with the ordinances of 1311.[191] In April Edward Bruce led his menacing followers into Cumberland and for three days burned the country to the south and west while using the bishop's manor of Rose as his base of operations.[192] The bishop himself was staying safely in Carlisle, and by a curious agreement Bruce promised him the security of his manors of Rose and Linstock in return for the bishop's obtaining before 1 August the release of two captive members of the Lindsay

family.[193] The subsequent disastrous defeat of Edward's army at the battle of Bannockburn on 24 June effectively brought an end to the pretence of a subject Scotland, and for the remainder of the reign the English fought a mainly defensive war on their own soil as Bruce's supporters relentlessly attacked the north. In August the Scots over-ran northern England in a wide, circular movement from Northumberland through Durham and Richmond, and then back to Scotland by way of Stainmore and the vale of Eden. A second raiding party ravaged Redesdale, Tynedale, and Gilsland.[194] The king had committed the superior custody of the city and castle of Carlisle to the bishop on 6 April, above Andrew Harclay, the castle's constable, and together they were entrusted with the defence of the city.[195] But shortly after news of the defeat at Bannockburn reached Cumberland Halton fled the district, leaving in command his colleague Harclay, who stoutly took charge of the defence of the whole region.[196] At Kirkby Stephen, on the road leading south out of Westmorland, he appointed Master Adam Appleby his vicar-general on 4 July, well before the major onslaught of later that summer, but nevertheless explaining that Scottish inroads made it impossible for him to remain safely in his diocese.[197]

Staying mainly at the bishopric's Lincolnshire manor of Horncastle, Halton was to remain absent from his see until October 1316, during which time the north was subjected to further devastation.[198] At the end of June 1315 the Scots invaded the bishopric of Durham and plundered Hartlepool.

The next month a Scottish force under the command of their king attacked Cumberland, the people of which had recently paid six hundred marks for a truce which expired on 24 June, and from 22 July they made a truly determined effort to take Carlisle with ladders, engines, and a siege tower of impressive proportions. The citizens and garrison under Andrew Harclay and Robert Swinburn staunchly resisted the assault, and on 1 August the Scots retired when news came of the approach of relief.[199] The government, which since Bannockburn had largely been under the supervision of the earl of Lancaster, was clearly alarmed. An army under the earl of Pembroke, who on 5 July had been appointed military keeper of the north, had indeed been fielded, but his pursuit of the enemy produced no satisfactory results. On 8 August the king appointed Lancaster *superior capitaneus* in the region from Trent to Roxburgh, thus superseding Pembroke, but his efforts to launch a campaign were frustrated by lack of funds at a time of general famine.[200] In June of the following year the Scots again invaded the north and advanced as far as Richmond.[201] Nevertheless, insurrection in Wales and Bristol thwarted plans for a campaign, and it was not in fact until 1322, after Lancaster's execution, that the next English expeditionary force was led into Scotland. These grave difficulties served to aggravate the remounting tension between the king and Lancaster. By the end of the year the two men were no longer co-operating, and civil war seemed once again a possibility throughout 1317.[202]

The earl of Lancaster's prime objective throughout the

dispute had been to induce the king to govern in accordance with the ordinances of 1311, which entailed the observance of the Charters, the conservation of royal revenues and estates, and the consultation of the baronage in parliament on matters of military policy, grants, and official appointments.[203] The political opinions of Bishop Halton, however, remain obscure. Along with his colleagues of the northern province he had proved compliant to Edward I's demands for a fifth in the parliament of 1296 at Bury St Edmunds, when the archbishop of Canterbury was taking a stand against clerical taxation, and the king appears to have had regarded him as 'reliable' in 1297.[204] But his participation in the assembly at York preceding the 1298 campaign in Scotland, when he pronounced the general sentence of excommunication against violators of the confirmation of the Charters, would seem to indicate that he gave a degree of support to the king's opponents at that time.[205] On the other hand there is no reason to assume that such sentiments, possibly ephemeral, caused him to support the earl of Lancaster in the new reign. Despite the fact that the two were near neighbours at Melbourne in Derbyshire, they cannot be shown to have had much personal contact outside of official gatherings.[206] Lancaster did later present the bishop's relative and protégé Gilbert Halton to the rectory of Embleton in Northumberland, but this was at a time when he was seeking to curry the favour of the northern prelates.[207] The most accurate view to take of Halton is probably that of a bishop who was, like most members of the episcopal bench, conserva-

tively loyal to the crown and whose major political concern was with the lack of effective measures to counter the Scottish attacks on the north, and from this standpoint a spirit of coopertion between the king and the earl would have been in his mind desirable.[208]

In any case, by early 1317 the king had managed to build up a sizeable following, and the earl of Lancaster now found himself standing virtually alone in opposition and isolated from the political community. In April earl Warenne, bearing a grudge against Lancaster, abducted his wife in order to shame him, and there were allegations that the king himself had approved of the plan. The following September Lancaster appears to have been in collusion with both Gilbert Middleton and the Scots in the former's attack near Darlington on the party of Louis de Beaumont, bishop-elect of Durham, who was making his way northwards for his consecration. Lancaster was a bitter enemy of the Beaumonts and was particularly resentful of the provision of Louis to the see of Durham in the face of a candidate of his own. But to the profound embarrassment of all concerned, the cardinals Gaucelin d'Eauze and Luca Fieschi, whom Pope John XXII had sent to effect a two-year truce between the English and the Scots, were among his travelling companions, and, although they were released, while the bishop-elect and his brother were held for ransom at Mitford castle, they had been nonetheless robbed of their goods and badly humiliated.[209]

The failure of the cardinals' mission and the capture of Berwick by the Scots on 2 April 1318, followed by a raid on

Northumberland and deep into Yorkshire, compounded Edward's problems.[210] From late 1317 the two cardinals and several bishops joined the earl of Pembroke and Bartholomew Badlesmere, both members of the king's circle who nevertheless enjoyed credibility outside of the court, in efforts to bring about yet another reconciliation between the king and Lancaster, resulting in the treaty of Leake of August 1318.[211] The treaty conceded a great deal to the earl's political viewpoint, its most important aspect being the creation of a standing council to supervise the king's acts outside of parliament. Eight bishops, four earls, and four barons were nominated to serve on the council for a quarter of a year each in rotation, and Lancaster was to be represented by one of his bannerets.[212] Although Halton had taken no active part in the negotiations, he was one of the bishops named as councillors in the treaty. His choice may well have been due to a desire for representation from the north. If this was the case, Halton can be the only northern bishop to whom Lancaster would have agreed, as he certainly would not have countenanced the appointment of Beaumont, and Archbishop Melton, having risen in Edward's service, was too closely identified with the king.

Bishops Halton and Langton of Chichester duly took their places as councillors early in February 1319 and remained with the king until the beginning of May.[213] The internal stability achieved by the treaty of Leake allowed the king to channel his efforts into preparations for a campaign to recapture Berwick from the Scots. After some delay the

English forces gathered and the siege began in early September, but within just a few days the king and Lancaster had quarrelled, and the earl withdrew with his contingent. Making matters worse, a party of Scots under James Douglas invaded England and advanced far into Yorkshire, coming dangerously near the city of York. Archbishop Melton scraped together what troops he could but suffered defeat at their hands at Myton-on-Swale. Edward was forced to bring an end to the ten-day siege, but he failed to intercept the invaders, who returned safely to Scotland, only to come back within a short time to lay waste to Cumberland and Westmorland.[214] At length it was decided to seek a truce, and on 1 December the king empowered Bishop Hotham of Ely, the earl of Pembroke, Bartholomew Badlesmere, and Hugh Despenser the younger among others to negotiate with the Scots, resulting in a two-year truce from 29 December.[215]

The Scots scored valuable points at the papal *curia* in the spring of 1320 with the declaration of Arbroath, which the magnates of Scotland addressed to the pope in response to a string of bulls excommunicating Bruce and his adherents and also threatening Scotland with interdict.[216] Perhaps more fully appreciative of the complexity of the problem, John XXII softened his line somewhat and in August wrote to Edward exhorting him to make peace with his northern neighbours.[217] The terms of the recently effected truce had indeed already provided for further discussion to take place between the opposing sides, and at Michaelmas Bishop Halton, Roger Northburgh, and Geoffrey Scrope met with the envoys of King

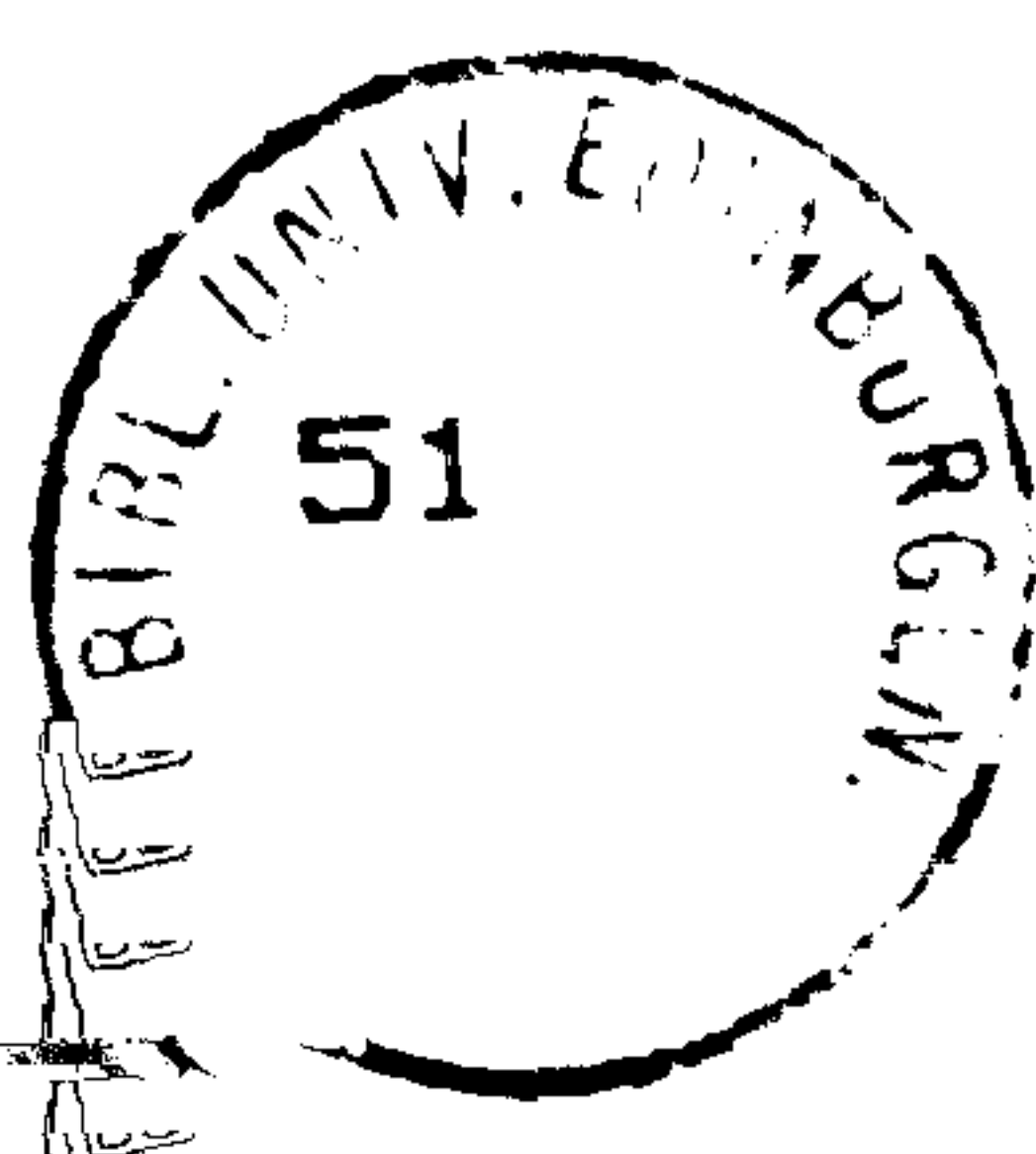
Robert at Carlisle, where they agreed to postpone talks to a later date at Newcastle.[218] And in due course, on 19 January 1321, the king issued a new commission to Archbishop Melton, Bishops Halton, Cobham of Worcester, and Assier of Winchester, the earls of Pembroke and Hereford, Bartholomew Badlesmere, Master Robert Baldock, William Airmyn, and four others, empowering them to treat with the Scots for a final peace.[219]

The survival of some of the correspondence which passed between the king and his representatives permits an examination of the process of the negotiations in some detail.[220] The talks had been scheduled to begin at Candlemas, but only Halton, Cobham, Badlesmere, and Baldock were certainly present at that time, and the date was moved forward to 18 February to allow time for the arrival of the two earls, the pope's envoys the bishop of Winchester and Brother William Landun, and certain representatives of the French king.[221] By 23 February, however, it had become clear that neither Pembroke, who was bound up in business of his own in France, nor Hereford would be able to come, and the king therefore substituted the earl of Richmond and asked the other negotiators to await his arrival.[222] Nonetheless, it was not until 26 March at Bamburgh that proper negotiations finally commenced.[223] Both parties were probably sincere in their search for peace, but a permanent settlement was beyond their grasp. There can be no doubt that the talks foundered on the central question of sovereignty, as Edward's envoys were armed with a copy of the process of the Great

Cause and had most likely been instructed to press for recognition of his superior lordship.[224] Ultimately, the Scots, it would seem, suggested a truce of long duration, such as twenty-six years, but the English ambassadors would not agree without first consulting the king and proposed a resumption of negotiations in September, and thus the conference ended in early April.[225]

According to his own statement, Bishop Halton had been engaged on the embassy for nine weeks at his own expense, and some time later he begged the king for allowance. Edward, however noted for his liberality to favourites, refused the bishop's simple request, replying in justification that he had gone as much for the good of himself and his see as for the realm.[226] Nevertheless, Halton was called upon once more to act as a negotiator for the king. The September meeting does not appear to have taken place, but on 16 November the king appointed the bishop, the abbot of Holmcultram, the prior of Carlisle, Andrew Harclay, John Penrith, and two others to treat with the Scots.[227] The appointment is striking in that Halton was the only commissioner of high rank and that none of the others were members of the king's circle, and this is probably indicative of Edward's unwillingness to send any of his closer associates in the troubled winter of 1321-2. In any case, negotiations were not reopened at this time, and the truce expired at Christmas without renewal.

Since 1316 support for the earl of Lancaster had steadily dwindled. Not only did the English magnates find his



inflexible attitude towards the king tiresome, but they had also probably come to regard the earl as thoroughly untrustworthy. It is virtually certain that he had conspired with the Scots in 1317, and his desertion of the siege of Berwick in 1319 was commonly thought to have been part of a pre-arranged plan made with the enemy.[228] But in early 1321 the earl found willing allies in the persons of several marcher lords: the earl of Hereford, Roger Amory, Hugh Audley, Roger Mortimer of Chirk, Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, John Mowbray, and Roger Clifford, all disturbed by the aggressive acquisitiveness in South Wales of the younger Despenser, who with his father had achieved pre-eminence among Edward's favourites.[229] In a bid also to procure the support of the northern magnates against the Despensers, Lancaster held an assembly at Pontefract on 24 May, but the fifteen lords present sought safety in numbers and desired the counsel of a larger group and of the prelates in particular. A second, larger assembly was therefore held at Sherburn-in-Elmet on 28 June to which came Archbishop Melton, Bishops Halton and Beaumont, various abbots and priors, as well as the earl of Hereford and some northern magnates, marcher lords, and Lancastrian retainers.[230] Lancaster failed utterly to obtain the backing of the northerners, and the clergy told him bluntly and, considering his former insistence on the ordinances, not without irony that parliament was the proper place for the airing of grievances, though they were willing to give aid to any project to repel the Scots.[231] Nevertheless, some twenty-four of the others

sealed an indenture of mutual aid and protection against the Despensers, and they, led by the earl of Hereford (Lancaster remaining behind), marched in force to London, where in parliament they demanded and obtained the banishment of the favourites.[232] Their victory was, however, short-lived. A majority of the magnates were still behind the king, and within a few months he was able to crush the opposition. By late January 1322 the marchers had been routed, the Mortimers and others had surrendered, and Hereford, Mowbray, and Clifford sought refuge with the earl of Lancaster in Yorkshire. With the king in pursuit, they retreated northwards but on 16 March were confronted and defeated by the forces of Cumberland and Westmorland under the command of Andrew Harclay at Boroughbridge. The earl of Hereford was killed in battle, and by the end of the month his fellows Lancaster, Mowbray, and Clifford had all been condemned as traitors and put to death.[233]

With determination the king followed up his remarkable victory by turning his attention to the problem of northern security. As a measure of his gratitude and confidence, the king created Harclay earl of Carlisle on 25 March and the following day appointed him warden of the northern marches.[234] Around 1 August the king went to Newcastle, where the English army had assembled, and advanced into Scotland, but within a few weeks they were forced to turn back for want of provisions. A body of Scots led by their king had already invaded the west march in June, when they sacked Holmcultram, burned the bishop's manor of Rose, and

penetrated as far as Preston in Lancashire. Now, following Edward's humiliating retreat from Scotland, they returned in greater numbers and at Byland nearly captured the king himself, who stood by helplessly as the Scots plundered Yorkshire for some days afterwards.[235] These events must have come as a severe blow to the morale of the northerners, who since 1311 had been the victims of Bruce's increasingly successful war of attrition, and the new earl of Carlisle now felt obliged to come to some sort of general settlement with the Scottish king, with or without Edward's blessing. On 3 January 1323 the two men met for discussions at Lochmaben, and after a few days an indenture was drawn up.[236] The terms of the agreement conceded to Bruce recognition of his sovereign kingship, for which he was willing to pay 40,000 marks over ten years and poignantly to found an abbey in Scotland for the souls of those who had been slain in the conflict; Edward was given a year to agree to the peace, and the marriage of King Robert's heir with one of the English king's near kinswomen was mooted; neither king was to be bound to restore lands which had been forfeited; and a body of twelve, six of King Robert's men and six chosen by Harclay, was to be appointed to resolve further questions.[237] The Lanercost chronicler states plainly that the common people of the north rejoiced when news came to them of the proposed peace, but the king took a very different view.[238] He had got wind of the transactions by 8 January, when the earl was ordered to his presence to explain himself.[239] And after fuller details came to him, the

unfortunate Harclay was arrested, tried, and executed as a traitor.[240] Even though Edward was still unwilling to give up his pretensions of superior lordship, he nevertheless was in no position to do other than negotiate with the Scots himself, and at length a thirteen-year truce was concluded on 30 May, which brought peace to the northern regions of the kingdom until the end of his reign.[241]

In the meantime the now ageing Bishop Halton had once again been forced to flee from his diocese. He was in southern England in June 1322, when his principal residence was put to the torch, and thereafter he took refuge at his manor of Horncastle. It was not until the late spring or early summer of 1324 that he finally returned, about a year after the long truce had been agreed upon.[242] His extended absence might be explained by his advancing years and failing health. The thirty-third anniversary of his election as bishop occurred about the time of his return, and by at least 1320 he had begun to cite age and illness as reasons for his inability to attend parliament, excuses which he had most recently repeated in February 1324.[243] Later that year, on 1 November, he died at Rose.[244] His long and busy career had spanned the better part of two reigns and had involved him at times in the high politics of both church and state from Scotland to Vienne, but it was really circumstance and the physical location of his see rather than any personal qualities which drew him into these affairs. It is obvious that in 1292 he was chosen both as an auditor of the Great Cause and as papal tax collector in Scotland simply because

he was bishop of Carlisle. His further involvement with Scotland and the war was also in respect of his position. His re-appointment as collector was no doubt based on the fact that he had already been collector, and his name probably suggested itself to the papal chancery when he was chosen to represent his province at the general council of Vienne because he had twice been collector. And in later years his inclusion on the standing council created by the treaty of Leake was probably due as much to his remarkable longevity as to his acceptability to both sides. Finally, one can do little better than concur with Tout's judgement 'that Halton was a rather commonplace and conventional, though quite a worthy, prelate'.[245]

Halton's successor John Ross was probably already an old man at the time of his promotion to the see of Carlisle in February 1325.[246] His earlier career had given him no experience of the north, and now he displayed little enthusiasm for his new position and its responsibilities. A month after his consecration he was still in Avignon, on 25 March, when the pope ordered him to leave the *curia* for his diocese.[247] Since only that part of his register covering the years 1330 and 1331 has survived, it is difficult to follow his movements, but it is clear that even once he had returned to England in the spring of 1325, he was reluctant to go north. In July the canons of Carlisle wrote entreating him to come to his diocese so that they might meet their new pastor.[248] Despite this welcoming missive, it is probable

that the bishop did not in fact go to survey his charge until the autumn. Archbishop Melton was evidently irked that he had not presented himself to make his oath of obedience when, having heard that Ross was staying at Horncastle, he wrote on 22 August summoning him to appear at Bishop Burton on 30 August to perform this canonical duty.[249] It was probably only afterwards that he undertook the journey to his cathedral city.

If Ross had any trepidations about residing on a war-torn march, they were unfounded, since the truce negotiated in 1323 remained in force. For the royal government, France replaced Scotland as the major source of problems in the years immediately following, and the very policy that was formulated to remedy the situation proved to be the undoing of Edward II.[250] In 1322 the French crown had passed to Charles IV, whose hostile attitude towards England thereby succeeded the moderation of his brother and predecessor Philip V. Following an incident that precipitated a French military show of force, threat of a full-scale war existed, which put English possession of Gascony at risk in the years from 1323 to 1325. Queen Isabella was despatched to France in March 1325 to negotiate with her brother King Charles on the sensitive question of French sovereignty and English dominion in the duchy. By way of a solution it was agreed that the English royal patrimony in France should be invested in Prince Edward, who would then perform the requisite homage to the French king. This was indeed accomplished in September, but Isabella then embarrassed her husband by keeping the

prince in France and refusing to return until the Despensers had been banished. She fell in with a group of exiles, including Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, with whom she entered into an adulterous relationship, and together they plotted invasion. With the aid of the count of Hainault, to whom she had promised the marriage of her son Prince Edward and his daughter Philippa, the queen was able to gather a force of sufficient size and landed in Suffolk in late September 1326.

Isabella's proclaimed objective had been no more than the destruction of the Despensers, but by December the favourites had met their violent ends, and yet the king remained a captive at Kenilworth.[251] Within the month it was decided to depose the king and to put the young Prince Edward on the throne in his place. A parliament was summoned to meet at Westminster on 7 January to sanction the action, not by the king's authority but in the name of the prince of Wales. The bishops were divided in their opinions. Stratford of Winchester, Burghersh of Lincoln, and Orleton of Hereford had become Edward II's inveterate enemies and firmly supported the termination of his reign. The remaining bishops would have to be won over. Archbishop Reynolds had risen under the king's favour, but the invasion had frightened him, and he had joined Isabella's party soon afterwards and now co-operated fully with her and Mortimer.[252] Stapleton of Exeter, a former treasurer, had been murdered by a London mob. Another of Edward's close associates, Archbishop Melton of York, did raise objections to the king's absence but was seemingly joined in his protests by only three prelates, none

of whom had had any strong links with the old regime: Bishops Ross of Carlisle, Hethe of Rochester, and Gravesend of London. The 'parliament' was adjourned to 13 January, when the new king was proclaimed, but Melton, Ross, Hethe, and Gravesend all withheld their consent. Later that day a group of magnates and bishops went to the Guildhall, where the deposition was announced to the citizens of London, and there Melton, Ross, and Gravesend bravely refused to take the oath to maintain the liberties of the city.[253] Nevertheless, at Kenilworth Edward finally broke under the pressure and assented to his own dethronement. Bishop Ross remained in London and appears to have attended the coronation of Edward III on 1 February, when with the bishops of Coventry and Lichfield and Llandaff he consecrated Simon Wedale, bishop of Whithorn at Westminster.[254]

On the very day of the coronation the Scots invaded Northumberland and made an unsuccessful attempt on Norham castle.[255] Isabella and Mortimer, however, were anxious to sustain the truce, and negotiators were appointed to treat with the Scots, but each side was suspicious of the other's intentions. The Scots gathered their forces on the borders, and an English military summons was issued for a muster at Newcastle on 18 May.[256] Ultimately, hopes for a negotiated settlement were abandoned, and in June northern England was briefly raided by the enemy. The following month Scottish forces in greater numbers commanded by the earls of Moray and Mar, and James Douglas marched across the border. The young Edward III was with his army in the north, but the English

were unable to catch up with the Scots as they plundered the countryside. When at length the two sides faced each other in early August they were separated by the river Wear. A small body of Scots under Douglas humiliated their opponents when they made a surprise night attack on the English encampment at Stanhope and very nearly captured the king himself. He was denied his revenge some days later when it was found that the enemy had stealthily made a retreat in the night, only to return some time later to make a vigorous attack on certain key fortresses in Northumberland.[257] The new regime now decided to come to terms with Bruce. A final peace was concluded at Edinburgh in March 1328 that was virtually identical in detail to that worked out in 1323 by Andrew Harclay and the Scottish king. The English recognised Bruce's full sovereign kingship; the marriage of his son David and Edward's sister Joan was arranged; but the sum of money that King Robert agreed to pay to the English exchequer was reduced from 40,000 marks to £20,000.[258] A little over a year later, on 7 June 1329, Bruce died, and the Scottish crown passed to his son, the six-year-old child David II, who had recently become Edward III's brother-in-law.

In the years following the conclusion of the treaty of Edinburgh, Bishop Ross remained for the most part absent from his diocese. He was in residence at Rose seemingly throughout the first half of 1330, but thereafter he stayed mainly in London or at the manors of Horncastle and Melbourne.[259] Two surviving notifications to the royal chancery of his appointment of proctors to represent him in parliament

indicate that he was not well during these years. On 3 March 1330 he complained that he had been afflicted by illness since the previous parliament, held at Windsor in July 1329.[260] Later in the year, on 14 November, he excused himself from the upcoming parliament on the same grounds, and it is evident that he had also been too infirm to attend the great council at Nottingham in October, when Edward III had had Mortimer arrested and had begun his personal rule of the kingdom.[261] He was probably still in the south when he died some time shortly before 4 May 1332.[262] The unfortunate loss of the greater part of Ross's register leaves us with a very incomplete view of his episcopate, but it is nevertheless clear that his involvement with the north had remained superficial. After his provision he was less than enthusiastic to go to his diocese to undertake his duties as bishop. On the two occasions that he was noticed by the Lanercost chronicler, reference was made to his southern origins in a manner that might be interpreted as contemptuous.[263] Furthermore, it is striking that at no time did the royal government issue to him any of the commissions that northern prelates customarily received. However, to be fair, it must be pointed out that at the time of his appointment Ross was probably nearing or had indeed already passed the age of sixty, and his inactivity might be attributed to old age and infirmity.[264] It has already been noted that his health was deteriorating by at least the middle of 1329. On balance, it may be concluded that Bishop Ross's best years were behind him by 1325, and that John XXII gave him the see

of Carlisle as a reward for long service to the papacy and, in a sense, as something of a means of support for his retirement.

Soon after the consecration of John Kirkby in July 1332, the peace which had governed relations with Scotland since 1328 was brought to an abrupt end, and in the ensuing war this remarkable bishop was to become much involved as a military leader and in other, less belligerent capacities. The important issue of the restoration of lands forfeited during the late war had not been settled by the treaty of Edinburgh, and the inclusion within the ranks of the disinherited of such powerful magnates as Henry Beaumont, Henry Percy, Gilbert Umfraville, David Strathbogie, and Thomas Wake among others, all with legitimate claims by descent to extensive lands in Scotland, had insured that the question did not disappear from view. Before his death King Robert had indeed conceded to Henry Percy possession of at least some of the lands that he had contested, but the rest of the claimants had remained frustrated. In late 1331 Beaumont had brought John Balliol's son and heir Edward from France to England. The Balliol pretensions to the Scottish throne were revived, and in August 1332 the adventurers invaded Scotland by sea, landing at Kinghorn in Fife. A few days later they won a decisive victory against the odds at Dupplin Moor near Perth, then easily took Perth itself, and on 24 September Balliol had himself crowned king of Scots at Scone.[265]

During these early stages of the renewed conflict Bishop

Kirkby was preoccupied with the winning of papal approval for his promotion, even though he had already been consecrated, had received the temporalities of the bishopric, and had taken full charge of diocesan administration. Although the see had been reserved to the pope, John XXII had made no provision, but neither was a speedy confirmation of the election forthcoming. It is possible that Kirkby's recent excommunication by his predecessor Bishop Ross now acted as a stumbling-block to his gaining acceptance at the apostolic see.[266] For the expense of presenting his case at the *curia*, Archbishop Melton loaned the bishop the sum of £200, for the repayment of which the prior and convent of Carlisle agreed to enter into a bond with him.[267] In Avignon the advocate Oldrad de Lande appears to have been representing the bishop, while in England Kirkby set to work to obtain royal letters on his behalf to the pope and various cardinals, of whom Jacques Fournier in particular seems to have taken his interests to heart. On 10 December 1333 Kirkby wrote to Lande and to another at the *curia* to say that he was preparing to travel personally to Avignon without delay, but the journey was made unnecessary by the pope's confirmation of the election just a few days before, on 4 December.[268]

In the meantime, the situation in Scotland was greatly changed. At the outset of the venture Edward III had been non-committal. While officially he had condemned the invasion, it is clear that he had nevertheless taken no real steps to prevent it. Now, following the remarkable victory of the disinherited at Dupplin Moor and Balliol's coronation,

he had three options open to him. The first, to which he doubtless gave little, if any, consideration, would have been to take the side of his brother-in-law David II. The second would have been to help Balliol establish himself as king of Scots in return for certain major concessions of lands and sovereignty, which indeed were already being offered to him. And the third would have been to ignore the claims of both and to attempt, as his grandfather had done, to bring Scotland under his direct rule. Bishop Kirkby was one of only five prelates attending the parliament of December 1332 at York, where the king requested counsel as to which of these courses to take, only to be told that there were insufficient numbers present to advise him on so important a matter.[269] At length he decided to back Edward Balliol, who nevertheless had already lost his advantage in Scotland and had been forced to flee into Cumberland late in December.[270]

Towards the end of January 1333 Edward began military preparations for an invasion of Scotland, and the following month the exchequer and the court of common pleas were moved to York. Balliol led a force across the border in March and began to lay siege to Berwick.[271] The Scots responded by sending raiding parties first into Northumberland and then on 22 March into Gilsland in Cumberland. The very next day Anthony Lucy gathered the shire forces and led a retaliatory raid into the Scottish west march.[272] It would seem that Kirkby had accompanied Lucy on the foray, as the two were afterwards involved in a dispute with Ranulph Dacre, then sheriff of Cumberland, over the ransom of two Scotsmen, Roger

Kirkpatrick and his son Humphrey, who with their wives had in fact been granted royal letters of protection.[273] This quarrel may well have been behind the violent attack on the bishop and his *familia* that took place outside Carlisle some time before 7 June, which caused an interdict to be laid on the city.[274] Meanwhile, the king had joined in the siege of Berwick in May, and in July he entered into an agreement with the earl of March whereby it was resolved that the town and castle would be surrendered to Edward if the garrison had not been relieved by the evening of 19 July. Consequently, on that day a Scottish force under the command of Archibald Douglas was engaged in battle by the English at Halidon Hill near Berwick and was crushingly defeated, with Douglas himself and five Scottish earls having fallen in the affray. Thereafter Berwick was duly handed over, and Balliol was able, for the time-being, to establish himself as king.[275]

Over the next few months Balliol confirmed to the disinherited the lands in Scotland that they claimed, and in February 1334 a parliament held at Edinburgh ratified his earlier grant to the English king of two thousand librates of land, of which Berwickshire, forming a part, had already been handed over.[276] On 12 June at Newcastle Bishop Kirkby witnessed Balliol's letters patent ceding to the English crown the Scottish lowland territories corresponding to the counties of Berwick, Roxburgh, Selkirk, Peebles, Edinburgh, Haddington, Linlithgow, Dumfries, and Kirkcudbright in fulfilment of this grant, and on 19 June the vassal king of Scots did homage to Edward III for his kingdom.[277] North

of the ceded districts Balliol's position was untenable. He could not hope for any widespread support from those Scots who up until now either had wholeheartedly supported or had come to accept the Bruce claim to kingship, and the easy gift he had made of Scottish territory to Edward III must have been an unforgivable offence to such men. The band of adventurers who had helped Balliol to the Scottish throne formed too small a base from which he could impose his rule, and in any case they were quarrelsome and divisive. Revolt followed soon after the withdrawal from the north of the king of England. While David II and his queen found refuge in France, his nephew the Steward, the earl of Moray, William Douglas, and Laurence Abernathy stirred up resistance in the west and the south-west and were able to gain control of the region. With what backing he had in disarray, Edward Balliol collapsed and fled to Berwick.[278]

In the autumn arrangements for a winter campaign against the Scots were begun. Henry Percy and Ralph Neville were given the custody of the march in August and were ordered to raise forces for its defence, while Edward prepared to come in person.[279] The king marched into Scotland in November and set up headquarters at Roxburgh, but from the time of his arrival until his departure in early February Edward thought his army to be greatly under strength, and he therefore lacked the confidence to proceed against the enemy. By the end of the campaign nothing more had been accomplished than the refortification of Roxburgh castle, which Robert Bruce had had pulled down some twenty years before, and the ravag-

ing of his own newly acquired Scottish territories, which undoubtedly only served the purpose of stiffening resistance to English rule in those parts.[280] The stalemate that the king had left behind in the north was resolved, at the instance of the king of France, by an agreement in early April between the two parties to a truce to extend from Easter, falling on 16 April, to midsummer.[281] Edward was nevertheless determined to lead a second expedition against the adherents of David Bruce, and the months of suspended hostilities were spent not in negotiation but in preparation for war.[282]

It is from the summer of 1335 that Bishop Kirkby's virtually continuous military career in the Scottish war can be dated. He had evidently not participated in the recent , winter campaign, as from late July or early August to December 1334 he had been away from the march, staying mainly at Horncastle, and thereafter during the campaign's closing weeks he seems to have remained at the episcopal manor of Rose.[283] In June 1335 he was at the parliament being held at York, where his petition to have confirmed to the see of Carlisle the lands in Scotland granted by Edward I in 1298 but subsequently lost, was considered and approved by the magnates and prelates present.[284] At the same time he entered into an indenture with the king, whereby he agreed to serve in the upcoming expedition with a retinue of forty men-at-arms, and fifty hobelars and archers.[285] At the end of June a formidable force gathered at Newcastle, and measures had been taken for a strong naval back-up. Upon the king's

arrival it was decided that he should lead part of the army from Carlisle into the Scottish west march, while Balliol had the easier time of leading the remaining part into the relatively pacified east march. On 10 July Kirkby with his retinue joined the king's contingent at Carlisle.[286]

Despite the superior strength of the English forces and the careful preparations and plan of attack, Edward made little further headway against the Scots in 1335. The two contingents advanced simultaneously into Scotland, terrorising the countryside *en route*, but the earls of Moray and March and William Douglas were nevertheless able to move easily around the Scottish lowlands and to harass the English troops. Edward and Balliol joined forces at Glasgow and in early August marched on to Perth, where they stayed for a month while burning the surrounding country. Some Scottish nobles, the earls of Atholl, Menteith, and Fife, and the Steward, submitted to the English and were received into the king's peace in the autumn, but by then the campaign was drawing to a close. Edward withdrew early in September, but Balliol remained behind with a small body of men.[287] Bishop Kirkby evidently retired with his following at the same time, as by 23 September he was in Northumberland, conferring orders by commission from the bishop of Durham in the parish church of Corbridge.[288] The warring parties agreed upon a truce to extend from 29 October to 12 November, during which time talks were to take place.[289] However, before the expiration of this term, David Strathbogie, earl of Atholl, whom Balliol had left as his lieutenant north of

the Forth, attacked Kildrummy castle while its owner Andrew Moray, who had been recently appointed guardian by the adherents of King David, was engaged in negotiations with the English. As Moray marched north to relieve his castle, Strathbogie marched south to intercept him, and the two met in battle on 30 November near Culblean hill north of the river Dee, during which Strathbogie lost both the battle and his life. The Scottish victory was a severe, though not a fatal, blow to Balliol's royal pretensions and to English hopes for a subjugated Scotland.[290]

Following the battle of Culblean, there was a series of short truces lasting until 5 May 1336, after which the Scots resumed hostilities.[291] In June the king went to Scotland accompanied by a small force, and with Balliol he marched north from Perth as far as Inverness and burned Aberdeen along the way. After they returned to Perth reinforcements arrived around 1 August from Yorkshire and Northumberland under the king's brother the earl of Cornwall and from Cumberland and Westmorland under Anthony Lucy. Little further, however, was accomplished, and by Christmas Edward was back in England, having left Balliol behind with part of the army to winter in Perth.[292] The Scots continued to be active in the winter months of 1336-7, while the king's attention was distracted by worsening relations with France. By the end of March they had succeeded in taking various northern strongholds as well as the castles of St Andrews and Bothwell and had been raiding in Galloway.[293] The king appointed the earl of Warwick commander of the forthcoming

campaign against the Scots on 25 March, and various northern magnates and prelates, including the bishop of Carlisle, were ordered to assemble at York on 6 April, when the earl along with the bishop of Durham, John Darcy, and Geoffrey Scrope were to explain the king's needs for the venture.[294] Those present were evidently asked to serve under Warwick on the campaign, which was to commence on 7 May. Kirkby contracted to supply a force of twenty men-at-arms, but when he and his men began drawing pay on 13 June their number was actually forty-three.[295]

Even though a force of appreciable size had thus been levied, Warwick was slow to launch a full-scale invasion of Scotland. For most of his period of service from 13 June to 19 November Kirkby appears to have been staying in Carlisle, where he was able to carry on the routine duties of diocesan administration.[296] It is probable that at least Ranulph Dacre and Robert Clifford also remained in the vicinity with their men. The Scots were bold enough in May to lay siege to Stirling castle, and only the sudden and brief appearance of the king himself along with Edward Balliol the following month forced them to give up the assault.[297] Soon afterwards the important castle of Caerlaverock was lost to them by the defection to the Bruce party of its keeper Eustace Maxwell. The king then granted the castle to Ranulph Dacre in the hope that in his own interest he would win it back from the enemy. Dacre's subsequent attempt to take the stronghold failed, but he consoled himself by thoroughly wasting the country round about. In retaliation the Scots

marched into Cumberland in early August, burned some twenty villages in the area around Arthuret, and took captives and a large number of livestock.[298]

In their turn, the English finally made a concerted invasion of Scotland early in September, but the results were less than satisfactory. As the earl of Warwick led the main body of the army out of Berwick, Thomas Wake, Robert Clifford, and Bishop Kirkby marched from Carlisle. After joining forces two days later, they proceeded through Teviotdale, Moffatdale, and Nithsdale, burning houses and the harvested crops and carrying off livestock, but only with difficulty could they find any Scots to put to the sword. In the meantime Anthony Lucy had diverted part of the army into Galloway, killing, plundering, and destroying. However, due to severe flooding caused by a period of unremitting rain, they were unable to move beyond either Ayr or Douglasdale, and after only twelve days in the field they were forced to turn back to Carlisle. After five days there, however, they were roused by news of Scottish raiders in Redesdale and Coquetdale in Northumberland, but they arrived too late to intercept the enemy before they had slipped back across the border. In the middle of October the Scots were once again terrorising the inhabitants of Cumberland. On the first day they were outside the walls of Carlisle, burning the hospital of St Nicholas, while within the city there had been left but a few archers for its defence. They then proceeded to the bishop's manor of Rose nearby, which had been singled out for destruction because of their particular hatred of him. On

the following day the invaders indiscriminately burned and plundered in Allerdale and Coupland, but on the third day, 17 October, they retreated upon the approach of forces being brought from the east march by Henry Percy and Ralph Neville.[299]

Dissatisfaction with the conduct of affairs in the north probably prompted the king's replacement of Warwick on 6 October with the earl of Arundel and William Montagu, recently created earl of Salisbury, as joint commanders.[300] The Scots continued their aggressive drive, and around 1 November they began an assault on Edinburgh castle, thereby posing a major threat to the security of English-held territory in the east of Scotland. Since the burning of Rose, Kirkby had reduced the size of his retinue, but nevertheless with Ranulph Dacre he quickly advanced to raise the siege, taking a levy of troops from Cumberland and Westmorland. They were joined along the way by Edward Balliol and Anthony Lucy, who had marched from Berwick, and their combined might was enough to scare off the besiegers.[301] On 1 December, after hearing of their exploits, the king sent a letter under his privy seal to the bishop, thanking him warmly for his diligence and requesting him to continue his efforts.[302] The bishop had, however, dismissed the remainder of his men on 19 November and had ended his military service for that year.[303] At the time of his appointment of Arundel and Salisbury, the king had in fact ordered Kirkby to be at Newcastle with ten men-at-arms on 1 December to form part of an expeditionary force with about fifty other northern magnates.[304] When he

had failed to appear by 22 December, the earls wrote asking him to abide by the king's command and further sent Ranulph Dacre to persuade him to join in the invasion. The bishop received Dacre at Carlisle on Christmas eve, but he respectfully refused to serve, pointing out that he had been greatly harmed by the recent destruction of his lands and principal residence and that he no longer had a retinue from which to draw the required number of men.[305]

The objective of Arundel and Salisbury's expedition, which finally got under way in January 1338, was the taking of the earl of March's castle of Dunbar, which was situated within the territory ceded to Edward III and was being used as a base of operations by the Scots. March had left the keeping of his castle to his wife, who staunchly defended her trust. After twenty-two weeks it was obvious that the enterprise had failed, and the king, now intent upon an invasion of France, ordered an end to the siege in June. By the time that he was sailing to the continent in July, Edward had the security of a truce in the north to last until Michaelmas of the following year.[306] Nevertheless, by the end of April 1339 the Scots had broken the truce. On 4 May Bishop Kirkby, Robert Clifford, and Anthony Lucy were ordered to levy the men-at-arms, archers, and foot of Cumberland and Westmorland and to lead them to Edward Balliol, who had been appointed commander for a campaign against the enemy, concurrent mandates having been sent for the same purpose to others in Northumberland and Yorkshire.[307] Kirkby was in fact not staying on the march at this time and could not therefore

have participated in the execution of the royal mandate.[308] On 20 June the bishop was granted the custody of Carlisle castle, for which he was probably paid as keeper the sum of ten marks annually.[309] In the spring of 1338, when the king had been making a brief visit to Northumberland, the bishop had asked him at Alnwick to grant him the castle for his lifetime under the same terms that had been enjoyed by John Glanton, because he had no place to live within his own diocese. Nevertheless, his tenure was 'during pleasure', and he was constable of the castle for intermittent periods only until 1345.[310]

The strategy of the Scottish leadership was to expel the English gradually from the northern-most lands and castles in their possession, thereby reducing the amount of territory in their hands as well as narrowing the gap between those parts of Scotland loyal to David II and the English border. In the summer of 1339 William Douglas returned to Scotland from a mission to France, accompanied by a French fighting force and presumably backed by French capital. With promises of lands and money, Douglas was able to suborn Balliol's chamberlain William Bullock, who in July delivered to the Bruce party Cupar castle, which had been entrusted to him.[311] Shortly afterwards Douglas and Bullock joined in the siege of Perth, which had been begun by Robert the Steward. It was ordained by the king's council that Edward Balliol should lead an expedition into Scotland to raise the siege, to which Bishop Kirkby contributed at his own expense a force of twenty-six men-at-arms, one of whom was a knight.[312] This effort,

however, came too late, since the town had already fallen on 17 August, in the fifth week of the assault, and Scotland north of the Forth was now under the control of David II's adherents.[313]

At the parliament held at Westminster in January 1340 Balliol was made warden of the march, and under his command was constituted a force consisting of thirty-six northern magnates and their retinues, including Bishop Kirkby, who contracted to supply twenty men-at-arms. The total strength of this army was not unimpressive: 704 men-at-arms, 2000 hobelars, and 2010 archers.[314] However, there is no evidence that an invasion of Scotland was actually undertaken. Kirkby returned to London at the end of March to attend the next parliament, where he was assigned with the bishop of Durham, the earl of Angus, Henry Percy, Ralph Neville, Anthony Lucy, and others to speak on the safe-keeping of the marches.[315] In the meantime the Scots were turning their attention to the two great fortresses of Stirling and Edinburgh, which were of immense strategic value to the English for maintaining the subjugation of the lowlands and for launching any projected military enterprises into the north of Scotland. It is clear that Stirling was under attack at some time in the summer, and in August the English feared a renewal of the siege.[316] The following month the Scots were extended the opportunity to be included in the Anglo-French truce of Espléchin, which was to run to 24 June 1341, but they evidently chose to carry on their own war effort.[317] The English were meted a major blow on 16 April

1341, when by means of a clever ruse Edinburgh castle was surprised and taken by Douglas, Bullock, and William Fraser, serving to isolate further the garrison at Stirling.[318] That castle was once again under siege in May and June 1341, but for the time-being it remained in English hands.[319]

Arrangements had been made, meanwhile, for the return from France of David Bruce, who arrived in Scotland in the summer of 1341.[320] Once again Edward Balliol was appointed commander of the northern forces.[321] Kirkby appears to have contracted to serve, but the number of men in his following is indeterminable.[322] Their confidence now boosted by the restoration of their king, the Scots raided and burned Northumberland in the autumn.[323] Edward III was clearly alarmed, and late in September a special council, attended by many earls, was held in London to discuss the recent events in the north.[324] On 7 October Henry of Grosmont, earl of Derby was appointed the king's lieutenant in the north, and on 10 October he supplanted Balliol as commander of the king's army.[325] Late in November the king himself arrived and with Derby marched into Scotland, but the enemy forces avoided the English army and retreated north of the Forth. Edward finally retired to Melrose abbey for the celebration of Christmas, and soon a truce of short duration was concluded.[326] Bishop Kirkby had not participated in the invasion, as his continued presence in his diocese from 19 November makes clear.[327] However, he had evidently been ordered to remain on the west march with a contingent of men, as he requested and received a subsidy from the clergy of his

diocese to provide for the requirements of a royal mandate regarding the defence of the march, in return for which he cancelled a visitation scheduled to begin in early December and suspended visitations for three years.[328]

The utter failure of Edward III's latest expedition to Scotland both heartened the Scots and increased English anxieties for an extension of the truce. From early February to early April 1342 the Scots capitalised on their advantage, on the one hand by engaging in negotiations for a truce (but carefully avoiding the conclusion of one), and on the other hand by continuing military operations in the lowlands.[329] On 30 March Roxburgh castle was surrendered to the Scots, and on 10 April the garrison of Stirling, despairing of relief and without victuals, likewise capitulated.[330] It was probably the news of these victories that put an end to further diplomatic activity. At the beginning of April Bishop Kirkby had attended the king's council in London, no doubt to give advice on the Scottish problem.[331] He was there again on 18 May, when he entered into an indenture with the king, whereby he agreed to retain two knights, twenty-seven squires, and twenty archers for a quarter of the year from Trinity Sunday for the defence of the march.[332] In the event, he retained ten knights, nineteen squires, and twenty archers, as two royal writs ordering payment of wages show.[333] Preparations were under way in the summer for the raising of an army under the command of Edward Balliol, but it is unclear whether an invasion of Scotland did in fact take place.[334] For their part, dissensions within the Scottish leadership

probably occasioned a lull in anti-English activity.[335]

Early in the following year the Scots took up the option to be included in the truce concluded at Malestroit in Brittany on 19 January, which was to run to the following Michaelmas and from then for three further years.[336] On 20 May Bishop Kirkby, Anthony Lucy, Thomas Lucy, Richard Denton, Peter Tilliol, Hugh Moriceby, Clement Skelton, and Richard le Brun were appointed keepers of the truce on the west march.[337] Also, from 25 June the bishop was again briefly entrusted with the keeping of Carlisle castle.[338] From at least the early autumn, however, the Scots were not being trusted to observe the armistice. On 15 August the bishop and his fellow keepers were ordered to be prepared to relieve Lochmaben castle, which commanded the old Bruce lordship of Annandale, lately granted to the earl of Northampton, should the Scots, as feared, besiege it.[339] Kirkby in fact appears to have been away from the north at this time. In August the community of Cumberland complained to the king that in the absence of the bishop and other commissioners the earl of Moray, William Douglas, and other Scots 'do as they please in regard to redress of offences'.[340] The king's response appears to have been the appointment of the bishops of Carlisle and Durham, the earl of Angus, Henry Percy, Ralph Neville, Thomas Lucy, and four others to treat with the Scots for the preservation of the truce.[341]

Meanwhile, the Scots continued to pursue a policy of cautious belligerency by constantly testing and bating the English. By May 1344 the king was made aware of the gather-

ing of forces in Scotland, and commissioners of array were appointed in the counties north of Trent in anticipation of a possible raid on northern England. Special commissions were issued to Bishop Kirkby and Thomas Lucy in Cumberland and Westmorland, Thomas Wake and John Mowbray in Yorkshire, and Henry Percy and Ralph Neville in Northumberland to supervise the arrayers and to lead the levied forces against the Scots, should they attack.[342] In the event no invasion took place. The following month the king asked the parliament meeting at Westminster to advise him on the problem of the Scots, who were ready at any time to break the truce by attacking England at the bidding of the king of France.[343] It was ordained that for its safe-keeping, various northern magnates should stay on the march with retinues of men-at-arms in sufficient numbers, and on 6 July a writ under the privy seal was sent to Kirkby asking him to comply with this measure.[344] However, at a council held in London in early August, the more radical policy was adopted of making a pre-emptive strike on Scotland under the leadership of Edward Balliol.[345] Commissions of array were issued for the levy of an army in the northern counties, half of which was to assemble around 8 September at Newcastle, the other half at Carlisle.[346] However, the plans came to naught, and, if actually mustered, it is probable that the English army did little more than make a menacing presence on the border. On 23 October a new commission was sent to Bishop Kirkby, Thomas Lucy, Peter Tilliol, and Richard le Brun to act as keepers of the truce on the west march.[347]

Throughout 1345 and 1346 there were constant fears of Scottish invasion, realised on three occasions, but still the king maintained the virtual fiction of a truce until he sailed for France in July 1346 for the renewal of the war there. While Edward might be accused of dithering on account of his lack of initiative and personal attention to the Scottish problem, it must be remembered that his options were limited. A major campaign against the Scots, whether led by the king in person or by a lieutenant, would have been a costly affair and would have caused the deployment of men and resources that he preferred to use in France. Moreover, such a measure would probably have proven to be inconclusive and would have run the risk of prematurely renewing the war on the continent. On the other hand, there was too much at stake, especially in view of the claims of important English lords to lands in Scotland, for him to do an about-face and withdraw as honourably as possible while coming to a negotiated settlement with David II. The only other course open to him, the very one that he had been following since 1343, was to keep the northern war contained, calling for the taking of a defensive stance. The king had prompted self-reliance in the north by actively encouraging consultative assemblies of the northern magnates, and on such occasions contingency plans were presumably drawn up to deal with the eventuality of attack.[348] Furthermore, the frequent commissions of array issued for the counties beyond the Trent during the invasion scares no doubt perfected methods of raising forces, so that in the event of the real thing an

army could be mustered with facility and speed.[349] In short, by 1346 the northerners could be relied upon to defend themselves adequately, while the real war effort was carried on abroad.

On 31 July 1345 there took place in Carlisle a tragic incident that caused the bishop's removal as keeper of the castle. On that day Peter Tilliol and the mayor and bailiffs of Carlisle apparently incited some of the citizens and certain 'Scots' to make an assault upon the castle, where they were able to penetrate into the outer ward and wounded some members of the garrison. Kirkby consequently led his men against the attackers and drove them from the castle, evidently killing some of them in the process. The immediate causes of this conflict are obscure, but it is clear that resentment had built up within the city over certain claims. A commission to inquire into the incident cites that the mayor and community among other things had appropriated waste land in the city belonging to the crown, had built a street on the king's highway and on the castle's embankment, and also claimed two parts of the ground on which the castle stood.[350] It is probable as well that some animosity against the bishop himself had manifested itself. As the castle's constable, he perhaps had dealt roughly with the townsmen in the matter of their claims. Indeed, it is conceivable that something like a forcible eviction from these lands had sparked off the confrontation. Moreover, earlier in the year Kirkby had received a royal commission along with Thomas Lucy to survey the work of the mayor and bailiffs on

the streets and walls of the city, the former having been obstructed by dung heaps and tree trunks, and the latter having been in need of repair, and to expel any suspected traitors from the city.[351] He possibly had offended some of the leading men of the community at that time, since it had come to light that a few citizens had enriched themselves with money levied from grants of pavage and murage, which should have been applied to the repair of the streets and walls.[352] It is also striking that the mayor and bailiffs were alleged to have been maintaining certain 'Scots', who may represent those of whom the bishop had been suspicious and whom he had tried to have banished.[353] Ultimately, the king considered it unwise to retain Kirkby as keeper and on 18 October replaced him with Thomas Lucy.[354] The following year he and the thirty-three men of the garrison were given a royal pardon 'for all manner of homicides, felonies and trespasses' arising from the clash, whereof they had been appealed.[355]

Soon after this unfortunate incident, Kirkby was involved in an engagement with a sizeable Scottish force raiding in Cumberland. Apprehension of invasion had heightened in the summer. On 8 June the bishop had been ordered to convene the clergy of his diocese to discuss defence, in preparation for a larger assembly of the clergy of the province meeting at a later date with the nobles, knights, and squires of the northern counties.[356] On 25 July and 28 August he had been included in commissions to levy the men-at-arms, hobelars, and archers of Cumberland and Westmorland.[357] A large body

of Scots under the command of William Douglas finally, as feared, invaded in late October, crossing into Gilsland whence they burned and looted their way to Penrith. While they were encamped, Bishop Kirkby, Thomas Lucy, and Robert Ogle surrounded them with a small force and disquieted the invaders by the sound of horns and other noises in the night. After a while a number of the more daring Scots ventured out of the camp and walked directly into the position being held by the bishop and Ogle. A skirmish ensued in which Kirkby was pulled from his horse and nearly captured, but due to the bravery of his men he was freed and restored to his mount. Although inferior in numbers, the English prevailed in battle through their persistence, and in the end the Scots took flight on the approach of reinforcements.[358] In the middle of December the English made a retaliatory raid on south-west Scotland and burned Dumfries.[359] The king, however, still wished to maintain a truce in the north, and on 27 December commissioners were appointed to treat with the Scots.[360]

Fears of further incursions continued, and by early March 1346 it was believed that the Scots had gathered a large army for just such a purpose. Bishop Kirkby, Thomas Lucy, Thomas Musgrave, and Peter Tilliol were appointed wardens of the west march and were ordered to array all fencible men in Cumberland and Westmorland and to lead them against the enemy in the event of attack. The wardens of the east march were furthermore empowered to assemble the prelates and magnates of the northern counties on 27 March, probably at York, to treat with them for means of defence, now made more urgent by

Edward III's approaching passage to France.[361] On 4 April and 2 July Kirkby and eleven others were ordered to remain on their lands near the march for its safe-keeping.[362] On 22 July Philip VI of France wrote to David II from St Denis, encouraging him to invade England now that the greater part of the English host was in his own kingdom.[363] By the time that this letter was written, however, an unsuccessful foray into Cumberland had already taken place. Under the command of the earl of Moray, but including in their number King David himself, the Scots had gathered at the border and had begun to lay siege to Liddel castle. But before an English relief force could have arrived, dissension had broken out within the Scottish ranks between William Douglas and Moray's adherents, and they had been forced to retire back across the border in confusion.[364]

The royal government, which had been entrusted to the king's second son Lionel, instructed the northerners to be prepared for another onslaught and ordered that spies be sent into Scotland to observe military movements there. Once news had arrived of the English victory at Crécy on 26 August, it was hoped that the Scots would be amenable to the negotiation of a truce, and commissioners were appointed to treat with them.[365] Instead, they were bent upon a major invasion, not without the encouragement of the king of France, who desired vicarious revenge for the recent disaster suffered by his own army.[366] David II duly led the Scottish host into Cumberland on 6 October with inflated ideas of conducting a true campaign in England. Liddel castle, which William

Douglas no doubt wanted to add to his lordship of Liddesdale, was once again invested and fell after four days. The invaders then marched eastwards into Northumberland, plundering Lanercost priory along the way. Meanwhile, Archbishop Zouche with Henry Percy, John Mowbray, Ralph Neville, Henry Scrope, and Thomas Rokeby had gathered forces to meet the enemy. On 17 October they came across a small party of Scots led by William Douglas and after a brief skirmish pursued them back to the main body of the Scottish army, which they immediately engaged in battle at Neville's Cross, near Durham. By evening the northerners had won a major victory. King David was taken prisoner by John Coupland, and William Douglas and the earls of Fife, Menteith, and Wigtown were also captured. The long list of Scottish dead was headed by the earls of Moray and Strathearn, while the English suffered few casualties.[367] Even though the chronicler Geoffrey le Baker states that Bishop Kirkby was one of the English leaders, it is improbable that he was in fact present at Neville's Cross.[368] No other chronicler mentions him as a participant, and he was not among the recipients of the royal letters thanking the victors for their efforts.[369]

Neville's Cross was a turning point in the Anglo-Scottish conflict. For nearly eleven years David II was to remain a prisoner in England, and for most of his period of captivity there was a cessation of hostilities between the two kingdoms. Thereafter, a series of truces, although not always well kept, extended to the end of the century, bringing open warfare to end, except for a brief time in the 1380's. In

May 1347 Edward Balliol did lead a large force out of Carlisle into the Scottish marches, while the earl of Angus, Percy, and Neville brought contingents from the east march, and through this and some previous efforts made more immediately after the battle of Neville's Cross, the English were able to re-occupy the Scottish borders. According to the chronicler Henry Knighton, the beleaguered Scots bought a truce to last until 8 September for the great sum of £9000.[370] Preparations were evidently under way in August for another expedition to follow on the expiration of this truce, but fortunately for the Scots, they were included in the Anglo-French armistice concluded on 28 September.[371] Early the following year began the protracted negotiations for David's release.[372]

Kirkby had taken no part in Balliol's summer campaign in 1347.[373] Early in 1348 he was commissioned with Robert Bouchier to accompany the king's daughter Joan to Spain to be married to the future King Peter I of Castile.[374] In early September, however, at Bordeaux the young princess fell victim to the bubonic plague, which had recently been introduced into Europe, and the bishop became one of the first Englishmen to witness the disease's horrific effects.[375] Kirkby was back in England by 25 October, when a warrant was issued for the payment of his expenses during the journey at a rate of five marks a day.[376] By this time his military career had been brought to an end by the truce.

Although financial incentive had no doubt acted as a strong motivating force behind Kirkby's frequent involvement

in the war, he was evidently disappointed by tardy payments. For the periods that he had contracted to serve, he should have received for his own wages 8s a day, while each knight he retained was due a daily wage of 2s, each squire 1s, and each archer 10d.[377] In 1349 he complained to the king, asserting that he had retained forty men-at-arms and fifty hobelars and archers for a full year in 1335 but had received wages for only nine weeks, and that although he had retained men every year since then for the defence of the march, he had further been paid no more than £333 14s 4d in 1340 and £422 19s, probably in 1343.[378] The record sources do show that his complaint was justified. In 1339 he had retained twenty-six men-at-arms at his own expense.[379] In September 1341 the king owed him £529 4s, of which he ordered £200 to be paid.[380] The royal officials continually neglected to make payment, and in June 1343 the king acknowledged that he was bound to the bishop in £969 16s 8d.[381] Whether he was ever satisfied in full is unknown. Nevertheless, Kirkby did receive some reward as a mark of the king's gratitude for his good service in the war. On 10 June 1343 he was granted the farm of the alien priory of Haugham in Lincolnshire at £16 yearly.[382] And after his complaint about pay he was granted the custody of two more alien priories, also in Lincolnshire: Burwell on 23 August at an annual farm of £10 and Hough on the Hill on 10 November 1349 at 100 marks a year.[383]

The unfortunate loss of that section of Kirkby's register where were recorded his acts from 1347 makes impossible ample

knowledge of his whereabouts and activities in the final years of his episcopate. He does appear to have attended the parliament held at Westminster in February 1351, and in May of that year he presided with Master Gilbert Welton, his eventual successor, at a convocation of the northern province at York.[384] He was very likely in his 60's by this time, and the following year he was unable to attend in person the August parliament at Westminster, probably on account of illness.[385] He died soon afterwards on 23 November 1352.[386]

John Kirkby was without doubt the most remarkable of the fourteenth-century bishops of Carlisle. While it was not unusual for prelates to provide contingents of men-at-arms and archers for the contract armies of the time, it was uncommon for them to take so readily to the field of battle themselves. The clergy were indeed expected to take arms for the defence of the realm, as had done Archbishops Melton at Myton-on-Swale and Zouche at Neville's Cross. Also, bishops were frequently called upon to act as commissioners of array and as constables of castles, but such activities were essentially noncombative in nature. Kirkby's close involvement in warfare from 1335 to 1345, as that of the few other military-minded bishops of the later middle ages, must be viewed as exceptional in comparison with the majority of prelates who, apparently, took more seriously the canonical prohibition against bloodshed, and all the more so in his case, given his membership in a religious order. At the same time, as will be seen in the following chapter, he was a conscientious diocesan, though in the course of his pastoral

and administrative duties he was capable of displaying something of the same truculent and pugnacious temperament for which the Scots detested him.

After his consecration at Avignon by the pope on 21 April 1353, the new bishop of Carlisle, Gilbert Welton, does not appear to have arrived back in England until the second half of June, when the temporalities were restored to him.[387] By 10 July he had reached York, where he remained well into the autumn.[388] He no doubt had a certain amount of personal business to conduct there, as well as the making of his profession of obedience to Archbishop Thoresby and the delivery to the metropolitan of his *pallium*, the collection of which having been the original object of his going to Avignon.[389] From at least late November until early February 1354 he was residing at his prebendal church of Eaton, which with his prebend of Osbaldwick in York minster the pope had allowed him to retain for a further year by means of a special faculty.[390] He finally completed the journey to his diocese in February, and from that time until his death he rarely stirred outside of its boundaries, thereby becoming the most consistently resident of the five bishops presently under study.[391] Before his arrival, however, the bishop had commissioned the abbot of Holmcultram and Master John Welton to treat with the regular and secular clergy of the diocese for the concession of a subsidy, which they agreed to grant him in two portions to be paid at Easter and Christmas 1354.[392] This subsidy was very probably to be applied to

the payment of *servitia* of 1100 florins in which Welton was bound to the apostolic see on account of his provision.[393]

It was not long before Bishop Welton became acquainted in an official capacity with border affairs and Anglo-Scottish relations. On 15 October 1353 he was empowered along with Bishop Hatfield of Durham, the earl of Northampton, Henry Percy, Ralph Neville, Thomas Lucy, William Greystoke, and Henry Scrope to treat with Scottish representatives at Newcastle for the release of King David and for a final peace or an extension of the truce. Their commission was renewed on the following 18 June, but Welton does not appear to have been with his colleagues at Newcastle on 5 October 1354, when as a result of their labours a treaty was concluded. Under its terms David was to be freed in exchange for twenty hostages and a ransom of 90,000 marks to be paid in nine annual instalments of 10,000 marks each, during which time there was to be a truce. Arrangements were made for the release of the Scottish king at Newcastle, but in the end the treaty was aborted, seemingly because the Scots preferred to join their French allies in a renewed struggle against the English, thus causing David to remain a prisoner for a further three years.[394]

The north was prepared for a recurrence of the war, and as the Anglo-French negotiations of 1354 broke down, this eventuality appeared more probable.[395] On 7 March 1354 Bishop Welton was ordered to appoint men to survey the walls of Carlisle, which were said to be in a ruinous state to the grave peril of the city's security, and to expend up to 100

marks on repairs. He consequently appointed two men to each of the city's three wards of Botchergate, Caldewgate, and Rickerate on 3 April, and on 30 December he appointed Thomas Allonby and William Arthuret to inspect their work.[396] In late February 1355 the bishop, Ralph Neville, Thomas Lucy, and William Dacre were ordered to levy the men-at-arms, hobelars, and archers of Cumberland and Westmorland and to lead them against the enemy, should they invade, a concurrent mandate having been issued to the bishop of Durham, the earl of Angus, Henry Percy, and Neville for the same purpose in Yorkshire and Northumberland. Moreover, forces were to be raised in the counties of Roxburgh, Berwick, Nottingham, and Derby, the duchy of Lancaster, and the bishopric of Durham and assigned to the companies of these men, whom the king had appointed *ductores* on the east and west marches.[397]

Some time after Easter a French force under the command of Eugene de Garencières arrived to give military and monetary aid to the Scots, but the northerners were ready to meet any attack. Nevertheless, after Edward III crossed over to France, the enemy made a surprise assault on and took the town of Berwick in early November, though the castle itself remained in English hands.[398] The king returned and at a parliament meeting in late November announced his intention of personally conducting an expedition against the Scots.[399] He celebrated Christmas at Newcastle and soon after Epiphany advanced to Berwick, where the few Scots left behind quickly capitulated. He then proceeded to Roxburgh, where Edward Balliol came to meet him and on 20 January 1356 dramatically

resigned the Scottish crown.[400] Whether something had transpired at their interview to cause Balliol suddenly to surrender his claims or whether his action had been preconceived is unknown. Since 1337 he had been frustrated by the lack of full English support, as the war in France was given priority over that in Scotland, and the usual inclusion of the Scots in Anglo-French truces often had prevented him from carrying on the war in the meantime. He must have been further exasperated by the fact that the English king had not turned his possession of the person of David Bruce to Balliol's advantage. Rather, Edward had been attempting to extract political concessions from the Scots amounting to the succession of himself or one of his sons to the Scottish throne, should David die childless.[401] Such a suggestion was not only a tacit recognition of the impossibility of subjugating Scotland by force, but also effectively pushed Balliol out of the picture altogether. With or without Balliol, however, the king was now committed to an invasion of Scotland, and in February he marched as far as Haddington, ravaging the countryside so thoroughly that this, his final campaign in Scotland came to be known as the 'Burnt Candlemas'.[402]

Following Edward's destructive expedition, the Scots were willing to negotiate. On 25 March the bishops of Durham and Carlisle, the earls of Northampton and Angus, Henry Percy, Ralph Neville, and Henry Scrope were empowered to treat with the Scots, and they had evidently agreed to an armistice by 4 June, when keepers of the truce were appointed, Bishop

Welton among them.[403] After the crushing defeat of the French in September at Poitiers, it would have been futile for the Scots to carry on the war single-handed, and therefore negotiations for an extension of the truce and the liberation of David II began in earnest the following year. On 8 May 1357 a truce lasting until Martinmas was agreed in London between the Scottish envoys, the bishops of St Andrews and Brechin, William Livingstone, and Robert Erskine, and four members of the king's council, the bishops of Winchester and Rochester, the earl of Arundel, and Guy Brian. Before the expiration of this truce the king empowered Archbishop Thoresby, Bishops Welton and Hatfield, Percy, Neville, Scrope, and Thomas Musgrave on 16 August to discuss terms with the Scots for David's release and a ten-year truce. At length the seven English representatives reached agreement with the bishops of St Andrews, Caithness, and Brechin, the earl of March, Livingstone, and Erskine, and on 3 October an indenture was sealed at Berwick setting out the conditions. The Scots were to pay a ransom of 100,000 marks over the course of ten years, beginning at midsummer 1358, during which time a truce was to be observed, and hostages were to be delivered to the English king to insure payment.[404] Very soon afterwards David was finally freed.[405]

On 8 July 1359 Bishop Welton and Thomas Lucy were appointed wardens of the west march. This was not in fact the bishop's first experience of the office, as he had been briefly warden in 1355 and 1356.[406] Originally the wardenship had been concerned with local defence and peace-keeping

at critical times, such as during open warfare or in the king's absence abroad. Over the past sixty years or so it had evolved into a permanent office with wider responsibilities and powers. By the 1350's, aside from the military aspects of their office, the wardens were charged with the keeping of the truce and were empowered to arrest and punish violators according to the *leges marchiarum*, a kind of international code established in 1249, and likewise to deal with those engaged in treasonous activities with the Scots. It naturally followed that the wardens were also empowered to issue safe-conducts and to receive men into the king's peace. It was common for the bishops of Carlisle and Durham to be associated with one or more laymen as wardens from the middle of the century until the 1380's, when the custom began of appointing a single warden to each march and from which time the wardenships became increasingly the property of the greater northern families, notably the Percies, Nevilles, Cliffords, and Dacres.[407]

Welton's register provides a few glimpses into the activities of himself and Lucy as wardens of the west march from 1359 until their replacement in October 1361.[408] The borders remained peaceful throughout their tenure of office, but there were nation-wide fears of invasion by the French and the Scots while the king was in France from October 1359 to May 1360, and the entire kingdom was put on alert.[409] On 27 October Welton and Lucy issued mandates for the array of all fencible men to patrol the west march with the power to arrest trouble-makers.[410] Their mandate to the sheriff

of Cumberland to cause all knights and responsible men of the shire to assemble at Carlisle on 5 January 1361 to treat with the wardens for the safe-guard of the march probably represents something that had by then become a common feature of northern security. Relations with the Scots were uneasy at that time, and the following May the bishop, Lucy, and Roger Clifford were ordered to inspect all castles and strongholds in Cumberland and Westmorland and to make preparations to resist the enemy in the event of an invasion.[412] More routine in nature were the safe-conducts issued and recorded in the register: one for Guy de la Roche, canon of Glasgow and *familiaris* of the cardinal de Férigord; and two for Stephen Dumfries and William Boyville, going to Scotland to purvey 'beasts, horses, and other things' for the wardens, along with a letter to Thomas Roos, keeper of Lochmaben castle, requesting that they be allowed to pass peacefully through Annandale.[413]

In the closing years of his episcopate Welton was again included in commissions to negotiate with the Scots. The ransom had imposed a great burden on them, and David had gone to London in November 1358 to seek better terms, after payment of the first instalment had been duly made at midsummer. According to Knighton, the Scottish king had gone so far as to offer to accompany Edward on his wars in exchange for relief.[414] At the request of his sister Queen Joan, Edward had permitted the late payment of the second instalment, but once this had been completed in 1360 David refused to make further payments until he received more favourable condi-

tions.[415] At the same time the Scots had not been strictly observing the truce but rather had been nibbling away at English-occupied territory. By late July 1357 they had taken Hermitage castle, and further encroachments had evidently been made in Liddesdale and Berwickshire from at least 1358.[416] In July 1360 a safe-conduct was issued for the bishop of Brechin, the earl of March, and three others to journey into England to meet with the king and council, but on 20 August Archbishop Thoresby, Bishops Welton and Hatfield, Percy, Neville, Lucy, Scrope, and Musgrave were empowered to treat with them instead. Further safe-conducts were issued for Scottish envoys in January and December 1361. Bishop Welton was included in a new commission on 25 June 1362 to treat with the Scots, but the two parties, if indeed they met at all, reached no agreement, and this diplomatic impasse over the issue of the ransom continued for the remainder of the bishop's life.[417]

Bishop Welton died on 29 December 1362, very probably at Rose, where he had been in residence for most of that year.[418] Although his death took place in the year of the plague's recurrence, it is unlikely that he was himself a victim of the black death. Earlier that year, on 3 October, he had excused his inability to attend parliament on the grounds that he had long been suffering from various infirmities-- surely not a reference to the plague.[419] Moreover, it would appear that in Cumberland and Westmorland at any rate the disease was at epidemic proportions in the summer and autumn, but not in the winter.[420] In contrast to the

other 'outsider' Bishop Ross, it is noteworthy that Welton was nearly constantly resident in his diocese. This probably was due in large part to the nature of his pre-promotional experience at the heart of diocesan affairs in Lincoln and York, so that by instinct he remained so during his own episcopate.[421] In the course of his almost ten years as bishop, Welton had been often called upon by the royal government to act in border affairs and in negotiations with the Scots, but his role in the north was by no means a key one. He was included in such commissions on account of the government's wish for the participation of the northern prelates. He appears to have discharged his duties as warden of the west march diligently enough, but it is unclear just how active he actually was in Anglo-Scottish diplomacy. In short, Bishop Welton was primarily concerned with the administration of his diocese, and, like Bishop Halton, his involvement in border affairs simply followed as a consequence of his position.

Like his predecessor Bishop Welton, Thomas Appleby received consecration at Avignon, on 18 June 1363.[422] Upon his return to England, he appears to have gone first to York, which he had reached by 13 August, to make his profession of obedience to Archbishop Thoresby.[423] In October he sent out invitations from Gateshead to attend his enthronisation in Carlisle cathedral on 26 November, and it was probably not long before this date that he entered his diocese.[424] On account of his provision, Appleby was also bound to pay

servitia to the apostolic see. To the papal *camera* payments were made of 250 florins in common services and 52 florins 15s 3d in petty services on 19 June 1364, and of 250 florins in common services and 52 florins 17s 9d in petty services exactly one year later. Meanwhile, two payments were made to the *camera* of the sacred college of 250 florins in common services and 13 florins 3s 10d in petty services on 19 June 1364 and 14 June 1365.[425]

During his nearly thirty-three years as bishop of Carlisle, Appleby was frequently involved in the affairs of the march, chiefly as a warden until 1379, after which by changes in governmental policy the two northern bishops came to be withdrawn from the commissions of wardenship. His first commission of this kind was issued on 27 May 1366 in association with Roger Clifford, Anthony Lucy, and Ranulph Dacre, clerk, brother of the lord of Gilsland, but five months later, on 26 October, it was superseded by a new commission naming Clifford and Lucy only. However, from 11 February 1367 the bishop was consistently appointed to the wardenship of the west march with various associates until 9 November 1375, when a general commission of both marches was made to Henry Percy, John Neville, and Roger Clifford. Thereafter he served as a warden for two brief periods only, from 16 July to 12 December 1377 and from 4 November to 7 December 1379.[426] Unlike the bellicose Bishop Kirkby, Appleby apparently had reservations about the propriety of serving the king in so secular a capacity. Soon after his third appointment to the wardenship in October 1369, the bishop

protested that he was unable to execute some of the duties included in the commission (which in fact did not differ substantially from his previous two) without grave blemishment of his conscience and great prejudice to his pontifical dignity. In his reply the king gave Appleby leave to consider himself released from the performance of those tasks that he could not undertake in good conscience but asked him to carry out all of the other responsibilities diligently.[427]

Even though it was no doubt the military aspects of the wardenship that disturbed the bishop, by this time the major concern of the English wardens was not so much the defence of the march against the Scots as the restraint of their own marchers from infringing the truce and from taking reprisals for offences committed by the enemy. About the time that he received his second commission in February 1367, Appleby sent a letter under his privy seal to David II, in which he lamented the disturbances on the west march in violation of the truce, which had become more usual than in a long time, and entreated the Scottish king to ordain for the keeping of the peace on his side, promising to do all in his power to restrain the people of the English march.[428] In 1365 Edward III had agreed to a new ransom treaty, but even though the yearly payments had been lowered from 10,000 to 6000 marks, the ransom itself had been raised from 100,000 marks to £100,000, and by way of a penalty for the five years of lapsed payments, the 20,000 marks previously paid were not to be allowed in the total sum due.[429] The conclusion of this

treaty could not, however, guarantee the good behaviour of the marchers themselves, and it is clear from the content of Appleby's letter to David II that he at least did not believe the Scottish king to have been behind the transgressions perpetrated by his subjects.[430]

Unfortunately there are but scanty references in the official records to the truce-breaking of this time, but it is apparent that the English marchers shared in the blame. In late 1357 William Douglas complained to the English king and his council that within days of David II's release Robert Tilliol, abetted by Thomas Lucy, had led a force from Cumberland and Westmorland on a raid of his lands in Eskdale, driven away a great number of his tenants' livestock, and plundered their valuables. He further alleged that both Tilliol and Lucy had later returned to ravage his lands and were holding some of his people for ransom, but that as yet he had taken no reprisals, though his tenants had. It is equally clear that English raiders were no respecters of allegiance. In 1363 the tenants of the earl of Hereford and Northampton in Annandale were raided not only by the Scots but by a party of men from Tynedale, and the following year they were again the victims of an English raid. In 1366 they were twice plundered, on the first occasion by some of Anthony Lucy's men and on the second by three men of minor standing from the English west march, and somewhat later, in 1374, they were to receive yet another menacing visit from a group of Cumberland thugs.[431]

In August 1366 a safe-conduct was issued for the bishop

of St Andrews and three others to travel to London for further talks, and it is possible that aside from the contentious issue of the ransom, they had been empowered to discuss the enforcement of the truce.[432] Bishop Appleby received two mandates to attend the king's council, the first specifying 3 October and the second 13 October, to treat with the Scottish envoys.[433] Nevertheless, it is evident that by early 1367 it was feared that the situation on the marches would erupt into a full-scale war.[434] On 16 July keepers of the truce were appointed: on the west march Bishop Appleby, the earl of Warwick, lords Clifford and Lucy, and William Windsor, and on the east march Bishop Hatfield, Warwick, lords Neville and Percy, and the younger Henry Percy or 'Hotspur'. On 1 September Warwick, the earl Marshal, and the two Percies met at 'Moorhouselawe' and for the three days following at the Franciscan church of Roxburgh with the bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, the earls of March and Douglas, and four others. On 4 September these commissioners sealed an indenture in which were set forth detailed terms that had been agreed upon for the better preservation of the truce, to remain in effect until the following Candlemas. Special keepers of the truce were appointed to each march in both realms, among whom was Bishop Appleby, and on 20 September the king formally confirmed the English keepers in office by his own commission. The indenture further arranged for the holding of march days on the east march on 13 October at 'Moorhouselawe' and on the west march on 18 November at Gretna, when the respective keepers from each realm could

meet to discuss offences and to determine compensation. Outside of these days, the truce-keepers were to prevent their marchers from seeking redress privately by violent means; they were to apprehend offenders and to cause restitution to be made within five days; and should malefactors escape justice by flight to other counties, it was agreed that the keepers ought to be empowered to apply directly to the sheriffs of such counties for their arrest.[435]

It had apparently been invisioned at the time of September indenture that there be a review of the situation at Candlemas, for in January 1368 King David sent Robert Erskine to Edward III to explain that his commissioners would be unable to meet with the English before Easter, and the king therefore re-appointed the keepers of the truce under the same terms until 1 August.[436] On 1 June a writ under the privy seal was addressed to Appleby ordering him neither to lead himself nor to suffer any of the king's subjects to make in retaliation a *chevauchée* into Scotland without first having obtained his leave.[437] While the bishop and the other wardens were probably willing to comply with this directive, it is questionable whether a marcher bent on revenge would await for the arrival of a licence from Westminster, or, for that matter, even apply to the wardens in the first place for permission to take reprisals. It is striking, however, that the king thought such a course of action could be justifiable means for redress, and this fact points to the breakdown of other channels. Since the march days of late 1367 no further meeting took place between

English and Scottish commissioners until 9 August 1369, when at Gretna Henry Percy and Archibald Douglas sealed a new indenture providing for the redress of offences. By this agreement a march day was planned for 13 August at Gretna, when settlement by the wardens' deputies would be made of offences committed since 2 February 1368 on the west march, except for the damages done in Annandale on 4 August 1368, which were evidently of such magnitude that Percy and Douglas preferred to redress them themselves at another march day to be held on 5 September at 'Moorhouselawe'. However, on the appointed day neither Bishop Appleby and his fellows nor their deputies appeared at Gretna to meet with the Scots, and David II complained to the English king of their default. Edward accordingly wrote to the wardens, reproving them for their negligence and ordering them to meet with their opposites or their deputies, as agreed by Percy and Douglas in the indenture.[438]

This latest scheme for the settlement of disputes between the borderers was accompanied by the negotiation of the third and final ransom treaty. Despite the harsh terms of the second treaty, the Scots had managed to meet the annual payments of 6000 marks.[439] The treaty of 1365 had, however, provided for a truce to last only until Candlemas 1370, and Edward was now anxious for its extension, as the war in France was about to be resumed. Bishop Appleby was summoned to attend the king's council on 27 May 1369, immediately preceding a parliament that was to meet on 3 June, no doubt to give advice on the northern dimension of the impending prob-

lem.[440] Shortly afterwards, on 18 June, the conclusion of a fourteen-year truce between England and Scotland from 2 February 1370 was announced. Edward was now willing to concede more favourable terms for the payment of the ransom, and in August the balance due was reduced to 56,000 marks, to be paid in annual instalments of 4000 marks over the period of the truce, a sum based on the original ransom of 100,000 marks with all payments made since 1358 deducted.[441]

Although there was now in effect a greater sense of accord between the English and Scottish courts, the conduct of the marchers themselves remained a nagging problem. For Appleby and others appointed to the wardenship of the marches, the difficulties of enforcing the truce must have been exacerbated by the conflict of interests between some leading northern families and Scottish magnates on the opposite side of the border. Since the release of David II in 1357, the Scots had been gradually reclaiming the lands in the border region that were nominally English.[442] For his part, it is reasonable to assume both that the Scottish king neither actively encouraged nor discouraged these activities and that he probably would not have been able to control them in any case. The earl of Hereford and Northampton was apparently able to accept the erosion of his territory in Scotland with some degree of complacency.[443] However, magnate families like the Dacres who were firmly based in the north took a keener interest in retaining their acquisitions there.

In 1334 Edward Balliol had granted to Ranulph Dacre cer-

tain lands and manors in Annandale, and the family also had landed interests in Liddesdale. These holdings were enough to cause an eventual collision with the Douglasses, but in 1355 Hugh Dacre, the youngest of Ranulph's five sons, married Elizabeth, the widow of William Douglas. Edward III had granted her the year before her dead husband's lordship of Liddesdale and Hermitage castle for her lifetime, but with her marriage to an Englishman, the grant was extended to include her legitimate descendants.[444] Hugh's eldest brother William, lord Dacre promptly lost the castle to the Scots within two years of the marriage.[445] Although there is but a solitary piece of evidence, it is probable that from that time Dacre and the first earl of Douglas were engaged in occasional raids and counter-raids on each other's lands. At a march day held some time before October 1371, Henry Percy paid £100 to the earl for damages done by Hugh Dacre, but the latter refused to reimburse the warden.[446] William Dacre died in 1361, and because his brothers Peter and Thomas had predeceased him, the extensive lands of the baronies of Gilsland and Burgh by Sands passed to the fourth brother Ranulph, who had made a career in the church and was then rector of Preston in Lancashire.[447] After Ranulph was brutally murdered in his bed on the night of 17 August 1375 in the house of his rectory of Halton in Lancashire, his brother Hugh was suspected of being the culprit, was imprisoned in the Tower of London, but was issued a royal pardon on 15 July 1376.[448] Soon after the perpetration of this bloody deed, Hugh was alleged to have led a raid on his own inheritance of Gilsland

and Burgh by Sands, the custody of which had been committed to Roger, lord Clifford, and to have driven away livestock worth £2000.[449] Whether his apparently violent nature led him to use the resources of these lands against Douglas in the following years is unknown. In the final years of his life he was himself included in several commissions of the wardenship of the west march.[450]

With the approach of the expedition to France in 1372, it was feared that the Scots might take the opportunity to invade. As a precaution, Bishop Appleby and his fellow wardens were ordered in February to remain on their lands near the march with their retinues, and in August they were instructed to compel all fencible men not joining the French campaign to do the same.[451] The maintenance of the truce was further threatened by the dispute between the earl of Douglas and lord Percy over possession of Jedburgh and Jedforest.[452] By February 1373 the king considered it necessary to appoint a special commission to meet with men appointed by Robert II of Scotland and to try to settle their differences. In August of the following year a new commission was issued to Bishop Appleby, the earl of Stafford, John Neville, Thomas Roos, Roger Clifford, Henry Scrope, Ralph Ferrers, and Master John Appleby, dean of St Paul's for the same purpose.[453] Due to the discord between their chief marchers, the royal governments of England and Scotland seem to have been taking the lead in attempting to settle general claims arising from the repeated infringements of the truce. On 5 July and 20 November 1370 Bishop Appleby and the other wardens were

ordered directly from Westminster to arrest violators and to meet with the commissioners of the Scottish king to discuss redress. A commission issued on 26 May 1373 to the bishops of Durham and Carlisle, lords Clifford and Dacre, Henry Scrope, Thomas Musgrave, and three 'outsiders', Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, Richard Stafford, and the dean of St Paul's to attend a march day on the pre-arranged date of 27 June at 'Lilyet Cross'. Shortly afterwards, on 25 July, Appleby, Clifford, Dacre, and Musgrave were again appointed to join with Scottish envoys for the settlement of complaints. In 1375 two commissions of this kind were issued exclusively to 'outsiders', headed in both cases by the earl of Warwick, but in June 1377 matters for redress were once again entrusted to Henry Percy and other northerners.[454] On the face of it, the truce of 1369 remained in effect, but the explosive situation was never defused. Within a year of Edward III's death Henry Percy, now earl of Northumberland, reported to the council of the new king that the earls of Douglas and March were 'harassing the English borderers by imprisonment, ransoms, and otherwise' and that the region was in a greatly disturbed state.[455] Clearly, the English and Scottish marchers, if not their kings, would be ready for a resumption of the war, once the fourteen-year truce had run its course.

During Edward III's declining years Bishop Appleby made something of a name for himself as an opponent of burdensome royal taxation. At the June parliament of 1369 the commons made a grant of customs for three years, and in early 1370

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the clergy of both provinces followed suit and conceded a triennial tenth.[456] Nevertheless, these sums were not readily forthcoming, and the king decided to exact forced loans from the more affluent members of the shire communities, claiming in justification that he was required to spend a great amount of money before 12 July in fulfilment of a treaty concluded with the king of Navarre, who was expected to come to England about then. For these ends, a privy seal writ was addressed to Bishop Appleby, Roger Clifford, and Adam Parving on 17 June 1370, ordering them to gather men of Cumberland and Westmorland who were knowledgeable of the estates of their neighbours. They in turn were to choose from each county the most substantial six churchmen and six laymen, with whom Appleby, Clifford, and Parving were then to treat for contributions of 50 marks each, adding up to a total of 1200 marks, to be paid to the exchequer on 12 July. When nothing had been received by 16 July, the king wrote reprimanding the bishop for his negligence. At length Edward received certification on the matter from Appleby in early August, explaining that the twenty-four so chosen by the jury felt that they could ill afford to lend the crown such sums and therefore refused. The king replied by demanding that they levy 100s from every man able to pay it. However, this was superseded on 12 August by a writ ordering the return of any money collected, as the king had decided not to exact the *chevance*. [457] It is noteworthy that resistance to Edward's demands was not restricted to the northern parts of the kingdom but was in fact general, and on that account the king had

been forced to abandon the idea.[458]

It is unknown whether Appleby, who certainly would have been one of the twelve ecclesiastics chosen to contribute to the chevance, had taken any kind of a lead in opposition to it. In the ensuing parliament of February 1371, however, his protests against the rapacious royal government were heard. On this occasion the king requested the clergy to match the subsidy of £50,000 granted by the commons.[459] Such a sum was nearly two and a half times the amount of the usual clerical tenth, and Appleby objected so vociferously that he caused a disturbance among the prelates. In June an indignant Edward III sent Henry Percy to the bishop to persuade him to think better of the king's request and promised to grieve him in every way possible, should he remain obstinate.[460] The clergy of the province of Canterbury, meeting in convocation late in April, made the agreement of the northern clergy conditional to their concession of the subsidy.[461] As it happened, the northern convocation, meeting at York on 10 July likewise acceded to the king's demands. The province's share of the £50,000 was set at 8800 marks: 6700 from the diocese of York, 1700 from Durham, and 400 from Carlisle. It was further ordained that the holders of hospitals, chantries, and free chapels, which were not normally taxed, as well as stipendiary priests would have to contribute to the subsidy.[462] Even so, it was determined that the holders of taxable benefices in the diocese of Carlisle would have to pay as much as a quarter of their assessed value, while untaxed possessions were dealt with individually, and a

full tenth was taken of the stipends of stipendiary priests.[463]

There can be no doubt that Appleby's stand against excessive taxation in 1371 had won him a high regard among those of like opinion, and it should not therefore be surprising that the commons in the good parliament of 1376 counted him among the prelates and nobles sympathetic to their cause. The members who assembled in parliament on 28 April had been angered by the persistent and expensive failures of English expeditions to France and suspected the king and his ministers of mismanagement and misappropriation of funds, and their mood caused them to make an unprecedented direct attack on the court.[464] On 9 May the commons requested that an 'intercommuning' committee be formed to consist of the bishops of London, Carlisle, Norwich, and St Davids, the earls of March, Warwick, Suffolk, and Stafford, and Henry Percy, Guy Brian, Henry Scrope, and Richard Stafford, with whom they could discuss grievances and their criticisms of the conduct of government.[465] It is not possible to determine just how active Bishop Appleby was during the proceedings. He was certainly still in London on 6 June and cannot be placed back in his diocese until late September.[466] The parliament itself lasted until 10 July, and in its course it had investigated charges of maladministration and impeached and brought to trial those held responsible for the government's ills, including the chamberlain William, lord Latimer and the king's hated mistress Alice Perrers.[467]

A little less than a year after the dissolution of the good parliament, Edward III died, on 21 June 1377. No regent was appointed to take charge of the royal government during the minority of the ten-year-old Richard II. Rather, at a great council held in July a 'continual council' of twelve, including Bishops Courtenay of London and Erghum of Salisbury, the earls of March and Arundel, and lord Latimer, was constituted to supervise the administration of the kingdom.[468] Bishop Appleby was present at the opening of the first parliament of the new reign on 13 October and was appointed a trier of petitions. As in the previous parliament, the commons requested on 15 October the formation of an intercommuning committee of lords and prelates with whom they could confer, selecting the duke of Lancaster, the bishops of Ely, Rochester, and Carlisle, the earls of March, Arundel, Warwick, and Angus, and John Neville, Henry Scrope, and Richard Stafford. The principle of governance by a continual council as earlier ordained by the magnates was accepted by the commons, but the number serving was reduced to nine, and its composition was changed slightly. Bishops Courtenay, Erghum, and Appleby, the earls of March and Stafford, and Henry Scrope, Richard Stafford, John Devereux, and Hugh Segrave were now appointed to serve for a period of one year.[469] Of these, all save Devereux and the earl of Stafford very diligently attended the council, which seems to have met on an almost daily basis, and even the latter received payment for attending on as many as one hundred days.[470] The payments, at 2 marks a day for a bishop, show that Appleby attended during the year

on more than two hundred days.[471] In October 1378 he went to the parliament at Gloucester, when his and the other councillors' term of office came to an end, and was once again appointed a trier of petitions.[472]

Appleby was back in his diocese by 18 December 1378, after more than a year's absence.[473] He had been appointed to the wardenship of the west march on 16 July 1377 at the commencement of the new reign but patently could not have performed any duties in person from the time of the October parliament of that year until the commission was superseded on 12 December.[474] His final term as a warden was very brief, from 4 November to 7 December 1379.[474] Conditions on the march were now worse than at any time over the past twenty years and more. In the summer of 1377 a violent brawl at the market of Roxburgh in which some Scots seem to have been killed had been followed by an assault on the town by the earl of March, which in turn became the excuse for a raid on the Scottish earl's lands by the earl of Northumberland.[475] Three march days were arranged for the redress of damages arising from these incidents, on 14 September 1377 and 18 January and 14 June 1378, and both the English and the Scottish courts were evidently anxious that the matter be resolved. On the second occasion Richard II's uncle the duke of Lancaster and Robert II's eldest son the earl of Carrick were to be present as special representatives of their kings, and on the third the English earl of March, lord Latimer, and the steward of the household Richard Scrope headed the commission to meet with the Scots, to the exclusion of Percy.[476]

The government's interests would seem to have been amply represented at another march day held in the latter year on 15 November by the inclusion of the king's half-brother Thomas Holland, Bishop Gilbert of Hereford, and the marshal John Arundel in the commission along with the earl of Northumberland and his brother Thomas Percy.[477] Within three weeks the Scots captured and were expelled from Berwick castle.[478] On 19 February 1379 the duke of Lancaster was appointed lieutenant of the march towards Scotland and was thus placed in a superior position above the wardens.[479]

Clearly, the royal government was not highly confident that the wardens could or would control the violence on the marches, and Gaunt's lieutenancy would seem to have been the direct result of a decade of suspicions at Westminster of the the greater northern magnates' own role in the incessant disturbances.[480] In the summer of 1379 the Scots were raiding in parts of northern England, and the following summer they made a foray into Cumberland and Westmorland. The earl of Northumberland was keen to take reprisals but was restrained by the king's express command and was told to seek redress at the next march day.[481] Lancaster's commission was renewed on 6 September 1380, and with the archbishop of York, the earls of Warwick and Suffolk, and the prior of the English Hospitallers, he was empowered to correct infractions of the truce.[482] The duke met with commissioners of the king of Scotland from 17 to 21 October, and on 1 November a truce was concluded at Berwick to extend to the end of the following November.[483] Apparently, the fourteen-year truce of 1369

was regarded as no longer in effect and with good reason, for the chief condition of that treaty, the annual payment of 4000 marks, had ceased with the death of Edward III.[484] On 2 May 1381 Gaunt was again appointed the king's lieutenant and the following day was empowered to treat with the Scots for a truce, which was subsequently extended on 18 June to last until 2 February 1383.[485] After its expiration the Scots invaded Northumberland, but at the end of June a short truce was again negotiated, to 2 February 1384.[486] Both the English and the Scottish kings seem to have genuinely desired a general settlement, though this had been impeded by the English government's fatuous hopes of retaining at least some of the territory in Scotland conceded by Edward Balliol.[487] ,However, by this time the outbreak of war appeared to be inevitable.[488]

Appleby was by now expected to act in a military capacity in defence of the kingdom. On 8 September 1383, in the event of a Scottish attack, the archbishop of York and his two suffragans were included in a commission of array with the earl of Northumberland, lords Neville, Clifford, and Dacre, and the sheriff of Yorkshire, and in January the bishop of Carlisle was included in a commission to inspect the captains, men-at-arms, hobelars, and archers of the west march in the king's pay and to report their numbers and defects to the chancery.[489] Shortly after the termination of the latest truce in February 1384, Archibald Douglas, lord of Galloway took Lochmaben castle, the last remaining English foothold in the Scottish west march.[490] After this a Scottish force

swept into Cumberland, plundered and burned Penrith, and on their way back burned part of Carlisle by shooting fire into the city.[491] As the duke of Lancaster led an army into Scotland after Easter, the bishop remained in Carlisle with some men-at-arms and archers to defend the city, for which he received payment in March 1386.[492] Even though the English army had advanced as far as Edinburgh, nothing was achieved by the campaign.[493] On 12 June Bishops Appleby and Fordham of Durham, the earl of Northumberland, lord Neville, and Master John Waltham, subdean of York were empowered to treat with the Scots for a truce. Fordham, Neville, and Waltham met with the earl of Moray, Archibald Douglas, and three others on 7 July, when the Scots agreed to adhere to an Anglo-French truce concluded the previous January, which was to run to 1 October.[494] After it had lapsed they raided Northumberland and managed to capture Berwick castle once again, only to have it retaken by Percy a short time later.[495] In May 1385 the bishops of Durham and Carlisle, the earl of Northumberland, John, lord Neville, and Richard Scrope were appointed to treat for an extension of a truce that had earlier been negotiated to last until 1 July.[496] However, the Scots had by this time agreed to re-enter the war on the side of their French allies.

In June 1385 a French force arrived in Scotland under the command of Jean de Vienne, but in August Richard II led a preemptive expedition north of the border. The English burned the abbeys of Melrose, Dryburgh, and Newbattle, and again ravaged the countryside as far as Edinburgh, but the Scots

avoided an open confrontation, and nothing was truly accomplished. In September the Scots invaded Cumberland, burned Penrith again, and assaulted Carlisle, which according to Knighton was saved by the intervention of the Blessed Virgin, the city's patron.[497] Diplomatic activity was renewed at the end of November, when Bishop Appleby, lord Neville, the king's chamberlain Richard Stury, and Guy Rouclif, canon of Chichester were empowered to treat for a truce.[498] In January 1386 Appleby was one of the English commissioners who met with Archibald Douglas and other Scottish ambassadors, for which he received a fee of £20.[499] Apparently, their efforts resulted in the conclusion of a truce ending on 31 May 1387, and Appleby was included in two more commissions issued in March and May of that year with a view towards an extension of the armistice, but it is not clear whether such was successfully negotiated.[500] In any case, in August 1388 the Scots again invaded northern England. As Archibald Douglas led a force across the Solway and ravaged Cumberland, the earl of Douglas led another contingent into Northumberland. On 5 August Hotspur met Douglas in battle at Otterburn in Redesdale. The Scots won the day, and Hotspur was taken captive, but Douglas himself was mortally wounded in the affray.[501] In the wake of the invasion Bishop Appleby and other northerners were ordered to remain on their lands near the march to defend the realm in case of attack.[502] Further hostilities ensued: in November the captain of Berwick raided in Scotland; during Lent of 1389 the Scots committed atrocities in Gilsland; lord Beaumont, keeper of the west

march took reprisals in April; in June the earl of Nottingham and lord Neville launched an attack on Scotland; and the Scots retaliated by plundering Northumberland.[503] However, the renewed warfare was brought to an abrupt end by the Scots' decision to take up the option to be included in the three-year Anglo-French truce of Leulingham, which had been concluded in June.[504]

Bishop Appleby was among the thirteen keepers of the new truce appointed on 11 August 1389.[505] In April 1392 the truce was extended to September 1393, and on 22 July he was again appointed one of the keepers of the truce.[506] By this time the bishop was elderly, and in June 1393 he would have celebrated the thirtieth anniversary of his consecration. He received his final royal commission in August of that year, when he was empowered along with Bishop Gilbert of St Davids, the earl of Northumberland, Ralph, lord Neville, Richard Scrope, and others to treat with the Scots for a final peace.[507] As is well known, no peace treaty was negotiated, and for the next two centuries relations between the two kingdoms was to remain hostile. Two years after he had been appointed to negotiate with the Scots this last time, the bishop died, on 5 December 1395.[508] Appleby may be characterised as a man of conscience and convictions. This is amply demonstrated by his doubts in 1369 about the propriety of a bishop serving the crown as a warden of the march, and by his outburst in parliament in 1371 against the extortionate subsidy demanded of the clergy by the king. In both instances he had been driven by a sense of the separate

estate of the clergy and ecclesiastical liberty. Yet his expressed views on clerical taxation coincided with the commons' disaffection with the government in the later years of Edward III's reign, and consequently he enjoyed briefly a position of national prominence from 1376 to 1378 in parliamentary politics and as a member of the continual council of the young Richard II. Appleby spent the greater part of his episcopate, however, in his diocese, and aside from joining with the other prelates in protesting against their participation in the trial of Richard II's friends conducted in the merciless parliament of 1388, he does not seem to have involved himself in the constitutional debates of the reign.[509] He had often been one of the wardens of the west march from 1366 to 1379, a period troubled by the frequent infractions of the truce by the English and Scottish borderers, not least of all by the principal families of the region. His concern for an end to the disturbances was early expressed in a letter to David II of Scotland. The royal government took a strong interest in the settlement of disputes throughout the 1370's and in the early 1380's was deliberately intervening in local power politics, but violence was not curbed, and a recurrence of the war was inevitable. In his final years the upright Bishop Appleby was partly engaged as a keeper of precarious truces and as a negotiator for a peace that proved to be all too elusive.

Notes

1. Marion Gibbs and Jane Lang, *Bishops and Reform, 1215-1272* (Oxford, 1934) pp 1-52.
2. W.A. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1955) pp 9-26. It is hazardous to use such a head-count method to observe trends in episcopal promotion, because it does not distinguish between men promoted twenty or even thirty years previously and men promoted within a short time of each quarter-century. Moreover, his conclusion that there was in the fourteenth century a shift from scholar to civil servant to aristocratic bishops is dubious.
3. J.R.L. Highfield, 'The English Hierarchy in the Reign of Edward III', *TRHS* ser 5, 6 (1956) pp 115-38; cf his thesis, 'The Relations between the Church and the English Crown from the Death of Archbishop Stratford to the Opening of the Great Schism (1349-1378)' (DPhil, University of Oxford, 1951) pp 76-110 and appendix O.
4. For other studies, see Waldo E.L. Smith, *Episcopal Appointments and Patronage in the Reign of Edward II* (Chicago, 1938); K. Edwards, 'The Social Origins and Provenance of English Bishops during the Reign of Edward II', *TRHS* ser 5, 9 (1959) pp 51-79; J.T. Rosenthal, 'The Training of an Elite Group: English Bishops in the Fifteenth Century', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* ns 60:5 (Philadelphia, 1970); A.J. Cosgrove, 'The Episcopate in England and Wales in the Reign of Edward I' (PhD, The Queen's University, Belfast, 1971); and R.G. Davies, 'The Episcopate in England and Wales, 1375-1443', 3 vols (PhD, University of Manchester, 1974).
5. The conclusions which I have made in the following few paragraphs are based on the biographies of the bishops found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*; A.B. Emden, *Oxford and Cambridge*; and the appendices of Highfield, 'The Church and the English Crown' and Davies, 'The Episcopate, 1375-1443' (in which may also be found an excellent account of promotions during those years); and on the analyses of appointments in Cosgrove, 'The Episcopate in the Reign of Edward I', pp 1-125 and Smith, *Episcopal Appointments*, pp 1-49.
6. Ralph Stratford, bishop of London was the last English bishop to be promoted by election alone, in 1340. Pantin, *The English Church*, p 55 states that John Trilleck, bishop of Hereford was the last, but he was in fact provided on 15 March 1344; cf *CPL* 3, p 95.
7. Gibbs and Lang, *Bishops and Reform*, pp 59-62.

8. The twelve bishops who probably owed their promotion to royal influence were John Chishull (London, 1273), Walter Merton (Rochester, 1274), Robert Burnell (Bath and Wells, 1275), Thomas Cantilupe (Hereford, 1275), Thomas Bek (St Davids, 1280), Anthony Bek (Durham, 1283), John Kirkby (Ely, 1286), William Louth (Ely, 1290), William of March (Bath and Wells, 1293), Walter Langton (Coventry and Lichfield, 1296), William Greenfield (York, 1304), and John Langton (Chichester, 1305); cf Cosgrove, 'The Episcopate in the Reign of Edward I', pp 47-79, where the view is taken that the king's influence was even less extensive. On only two occasions did Edward I refuse his assent to the election of regulars: Ralph Irton (Carlisle, 1278) and John Salmon, (Ely, 1298). In the former case, the canons of Carlisle did not properly observe the form for obtaining the king's licence to elect, and in the latter there was some dispute, though it is clear that Salmon had received the majority of votes. For the election of regulars under Henry III, see Gibbs and Lang, *Bishops and Reform*, pp 5-10.
9. For appointments to English bishoprics under Richard II, see the relevant sections of Davies, 'The Episcopate, 1375-1443'.
10. See Geoffrey Barraclough, *Papal Provisions: Aspects of Church History, Constitutional, Legal and Administrative in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1935).
11. A.H. Sweet, 'The Control of English Episcopal Elections in the Thirteenth Century', *Catholic Historical Review* ns 6 (1927) pp 573-82.
12. Smith, *Episcopal Appointments*, pp 11-49; J.R. Wright, *The Church and the English Crown, 1305-1334: A Study based on the Register of Archbishop Walter Reynolds* (Toronto, 1980) pp 5-14.
13. G. Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon, 1305-1378*, trans Janet Love (London, 1963) pp 262-8.
14. Pantin, *The English Church*, p 55: 'It was not until 1342, in the time of Clement VI, that papal provision to bishoprics became normal. . . From then on the general rule seems to have been provision by the pope, more or less at the king's nomination.'; p 57: 'Thus on the whole, after the time of Edward II, papal provision had the effect of giving the king the bishops he wanted, and he had little reason to complain about the way the system worked.'
15. Thomas Hatfield (Durham, 1345), William Edington (Winchester, 1345), John Thoresby (St Davids, 1347;

translated to Worcester, 1349; York, 1352), John Offord (Canterbury, 1348), Simon Islip (Canterbury, 1349), Michael Northburgh (London, 1354), Simon Langham, OSB (Ely, 1362; translated to Canterbury, 1366), John Buckingham (Lincoln, 1363), William Wickham (Winchester, 1367), Thomas Brantingham (Exeter, 1370), Henry Wakefield (Worcester, 1375), John Fordham (Durham, 1381; translated to Ely, 1388), Robert Braybrook (London, 1381), Thomas Rushook, OP (Llandaff, 1383; translated to Chichester, 1385), Walter Skirlaw (Coventry and Lichfield, 1385; translated to Bath and Wells, 1386; Durham, 1388), and John Waltham (Salisbury, 1388). The figure of fifty-eight promotions does not include translations.

16. The papal *curiales* promoted by John XXII were Adam Orleton (Hereford, 1317; translated to Worcester, 1327; Winchester, 1333), Rigaud Assier (Winchester, 1319), John Ross (Carlisle, 1325), and John Grandisson (Exeter, 1327). Those advanced by his successors up to 1389 were William Bateman (Norwich, 1344), Thomas Fastolf (St Davids, 1352), Simon Sudbury (London, 1361; translated to Canterbury, 1375), William Lynn (Chichester, 1362; translated to Worcester, 1368), Richard Scrope (Coventry and Lichfield, 1386; translated to York, 1398), and John Trefnant (Hereford, 1389). Two more were appointed by Boniface IX: Edmund Bromfield, OSB (Llandaff, 1389) and Andrew Barret (Llandaff, 1395); John Trefor (St Asaph, 1394) had been a papal auditor of causes but would appear to have been the choice of the chapter.
17. John Eclescliff, OP (Llandaff, 1323), Thomas Lisle, OP (Ely, 1345), John Paschal, OCarm (Llandaff, 1347), Gilbert Welton (Carlisle, 1353), Thomas Ringstead, OP (Bangor, 1357), Roger Craddock, OFM (Llandaff, 1361), Adam Houghton (St Davids, 1362), Gervase de Castro, OP (Bangor, 1366), William Reade (Chichester, 1368), John Gilbert, OP (Bangor, 1372; translated to Hereford, 1375; St Davids, 1389), John Swaffham, OCarm (Bangor, 1376), Thomas Brinton, OSB (Rochester, 1373), Laurence Child, OSB (St Asaph, 1382), and William Bottlesham, OP (Llandaff, 1386; translated to Rochester, 1389).
18. The bishops who probably owed their promotion to the influence of their families were Simon Montagu (Worcester, 1333; translated to Ely, 1337), Anthony Bek (Norwich, 1337), Reginald Brian (St Davids, 1350; translated to Worcester, 1352), Thomas Percy (Norwich, 1355), William Courtenay (Hereford, 1369; translated to London, 1375; Canterbury, 1381), Henry Despenser (Norwich, 1370), Thomas Arundel (Ely, 1373; translated to York, 1388; Canterbury, 1396, 1399), Alexander Neville (York, 1373), and Henry Beaufort (Lincoln, 1398; translated to Winchester, 1404). John Gynwell

- (Lincoln, 1347) owed his provision to Henry of Lancaster; Robert Stretton (Coventry and Lichfield, 1358), John Harwell (Bath and Wells, 1366), and William Spridlington (St Asaph, 1377) to the Black Prince; and Ralph Erghum (Salisbury, 1375; translated to Bath and Wells, 1388) to John of Gaunt.
19. For the value of English and Welsh bishoprics as assessed in 1291, see *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*.
 20. Chichester: Gilbert of St Leofard (1288); Exeter: Peter Quivel (1280), Thomas Bitton (1291), Walter Stapleton (1307); Hereford: Richard Swinfield (1282); Lincoln: Oliver Sutton (1280), John Bladerby (1300); London: Richard Gravesend (1280), Ralph Baldock (1304), Gilbert Segrave (1313), Richard Newport (1317), Stephen Gravesend (1318); Salisbury: Walter Scammel (1284), Henry Brundeston (1287), Roger Martival (1315); York: William Wickwane (1279), John le Romeyn (1285), Thomas Corbridge (1299), William Zouche (1340); St Davids: David Martin (1293), Henry Gower (1328); St Asaph: Llewelyn Bromfield (1293), Dafydd ap Bleddyn (1314); Bangor: Gruffydd ab Iorwerth (1307), Ainan Sais (1309), Matthew Englefield (1328). The double chapter of the see of Bath and Wells, the former regular, the latter secular, also elected without known interference Walter Haselshaw (1302) and Ralph Shrewsbury (1329).
 21. Carlisle: John Halton (1292), John Kirkby (1332); Durham: Robert of Holy Island (1274), Richard Kellaw (1311), Henry Stamford (1316, quashed), Robert Graystones (1333, quashed); Ely: John Salmon (1298, quashed), Robert Orford (1302), John Ketton (1310), John Crauden (1337, quashed); Norwich: Thomas Hempnall (1336, quashed); Rochester: John Bradfield (1277), Thomas Wouldham (1292), Hamo Hethe (1317); Winchester: Henry Woodlock (1305), Adam Wynton (1319, quashed); Worcester: John of St Germain (1302, quashed), Wulstan Bransford (1327, quashed), Wulstan Bransford (1339). It is striking that the monks of Canterbury made no attempt to elect one of their own number during this period.
 22. Bangor: Hywel ap Gronow (1371); Canterbury: Thomas Bradwardine (1348), Simon Islip (1349); Carlisle: Thomas Appleby, OSA (1363); Coventry and Lichfield: Robert Stretton (1358), Walter Skirlaw (1385); Durham: Thomas Hatfield (1345), John Fordham (1381); Exeter: Edmund Stafford (1395); Hereford: John Trilleck (1344), Lewis Charlton (1361); Lincoln: John Buckingham (1362); Llandaff: Robert Tideman of Winchcomb (1393); London: Michael Northburgh (1354); Rochester: John Sheppey, OSB (1352), William Whittlesey (1360); St Asaph: Llewelyn ap Madoc ab Ellis (1357), John Trefor

- (1394); Winchester: William Wickham (1366); York: Alexander Neville (1373).
23. See notes 15-17 above.
 24. Carlisle: Robert Reade, OP (1396), Thomas Merks, OSB (1397); Chichester: Richard Medford (1389), Robert Waldby, OFSA (1395); Llandaff: Thomas Rushook, OP (1383), Robert Tideman of Winchcomb, OCist (1393), John Burghill, OP (1396), Thomas Feverel, OCarm (1398); St Asaph: Alexander Backe, OP (1390).
 25. For appointments in England in the fifteenth century, see Lita-Rose Betcherman, 'The Making of Bishops in the Lancastrian Period', *Speculum* 41 (1966) pp 397-419; Rosenthal, 'The Training of an Elite'; and Davies, 'The Episcopate, 1375-1443'. For the derogation of papal power during and after the Great Schism, see J.A.F. Thomson, *Popes and Princes, 1417-1517: Politics and Polity in the Late Medieval Church* (London, 1980), especially pp 143-200.
 26. The other auditors of causes advanced were Adam Orleton (Hereford, 1317), Rigaud Assier (Winchester, 1319), William Bateman (Norwich, 1344), Thomas Fastolf (St Davids, 1352), Simon Sudbury (London, 1361), William Lynn (Chichester, 1362), Richard Scrope (Coventry and Lichfield, 1386), John Trefnant (Hereford, 1389), John Trefor (St Asaph, 1394), Andrew Barret (Llandaff, 1395). See E. Cerchiari, *Capellani Papae et Apostolicae Sedis Auditores Causarum Sacri Palatii Apostolici, seu Sacra Romana Rota ab origine ad diem usque 20 Septembris 1870* (Rome, 1921) 2, *passim*.
 27. The other was John Sheppey, OSB (Rochester, 1352).
 28. *Lanercost*, p 146.
 29. Ibid, p 143 gives 1 March as the date of Irton's death, but *Guisborough*, p 239 and PRO, SC 6/1144/13 concur on 29 February as the date of his demise.
 30. *CPR, 1281-92*, p 480.
 31. Ibid, pp 491, 495-6.
 32. *Reg Sacrum Anglicanum*, p 68.
 33. See the entries 'Halloughton' and 'Halton' in *The Concise Dictionary of English Place-Names*, ed E. Ekwall, 2nd ed (Oxford, 1940) pp 202-3.
 34. Sibyl Halton is identified as the bishop's niece in PRO, SC 1/27/18. Her first marriage was to William son

- of Adam Armstrong of Ousby, with whom she was jointly enfeoffed of his inheritance of half of Ousby. *CIPM* 7, no 581; 8, no 256; 13, no 31.
35. *Reg Halton* 1, pp 46-7.
 36. *Lanercost*, p 253; PRO, E 372/172 m 47.
 37. *CFR*, 1319-27, p 318; *CPR*, 1324-7, p 59.
 38. *Lanercost*, p 253.
 39. *CPR*, 1324-7, pp 83, 92.
 40. *CPL* 2, p 242.
 41. *Ibid*, p 468; *Reg Melton* 1, no 264.
 42. *CPL* 2, p 242; *Lanercost*, p 253.
 43. *CPR*, 1321-4, p 132.
 44. R.M. Haines, *The Church and Politics in Fourteenth-Century England: The Career of Adam Orleton, c 1275-1345* (Cambridge, 1978) pp 1-2.
 45. *Reg Ross*, fol 130r; *Registrum Ricardi de Swinfield, Episcopi Herefordensis, AD MCCLXXXIII-MCCCXVII*, ed W.W. Capes, CYS 6 (1909) pp 479-80.
 46. *Reg Swinfield*, p 215.
 47. *Ibid*, p 277; *Registrum Roberti Winchelsey, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi, AD 1294-1313*, 2 vols, ed Rose Graham, CYS 51-2 (1952, 1956) 1, p 383.
 48. *Reg Winchelsey* 1, pp 584-6, 608-13, 639, 641-3, 644-6, 658, 668; *Reg Swinfield*, pp 428-9.
 49. *Reg Winchelsey* 2, pp 1099-1100; Irene Churchill, *Canterbury Administration*, 2 vols (London, 1933) 2, pp 237, 244.
 50. For Ross' benefices, see Emden, *Oxford* 3, pp 1590-1.
 51. *Reg Swinfield*, p 428; *CPL* 2, p 74.
 52. Cerchiari, *Capellani Papae* 2, p 26. Ross took advantage of his position as papal auditor to sue the chapter of Hereford for payment of greater commons; see W.N. Yates, 'John of Ross and a Dispute over Commons, 1317-24', *BIHR* 48 (1975) pp 16-21.
 53. *CFR*, 1327-37, p 312.

54. *CPR*, 1330-4, p 280; *Reg Kirkby*, fol 128r.
55. *CPR*, 1330-4, p 304.
56. *Reg Melton* 1, no 308; *CPR*, 1330-4, p 313; *Reg Kirkby*, fols 128r, 129r/v.
57. *Reg Melton* 1, nos 310, 359.
58. *CPL* 2, p 403.
59. *Reg Kirkby*, fol 155r.
60. The names of the canons of Carlisle as found in the ordinations lists make clear the local character of the convent.
61. *Reg Halton* 2, pp 69, 74, 89.
62. *Reg Ross*, fol 138v-139r.
63. *Reg Ross*, fols 131v, 132v, 134v, 135r, 136r/v, 140r/v; *Reg Melton* 1, no 350.
64. *PRO*, E 372/198 m 38d; *SC* 6/1144/14.
65. *CPR*, 1350-4, p 366; *CFR*, 1347-56, pp 344-5.
66. *CPR*, 1350-4, p 384.
67. *Ibid*, pp 408-9. Horncastle's acts as bishop-elect, dating between 3 February and 5 April 1353 were recorded on one folio of what was to be his register, now bound before that of Bishop Welton.
68. Le Neve, *Fasti*, 1300-1541 6, p 97; *CPL* 3, pp 469, 487.
69. *Reg Welton*, fol 1r; *CPP* 1, p 241; *CPL* 3, p 513.
70. *CPR*, 1350-4, pp 470-1.
71. *Reg Welton*, fol 53r.
72. *CIPM* 3, nos 248, 473; 9, no 219; 10, no 46.
73. Emden, *Oxford* 3, pp 2012-13.
74. *CPP* 1, p 4; *CPL* 3, pp 54, 80. Bishop Bek in his will bequeathed 100s. to Welton, *Test Ebor* 1, p 26.
75. Emden, *Oxford* 3, p 2013; Le Neve, *Fasti*, 1300-1541 1, pp 104-5; 6, p 73.
76. *The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, 3 vols, ed James Raine, RS 71 (1879-94) 3,

- pp 271-2; *The Records of the Northern Convocation*, ed G.W. Kitchin, SS 113 (1907) p 87; CPL 3, pp 469, 487.
77. PRO, E 372/208 m 48.
 78. CPR, 1361-4, p 278; CFR, 1356-68, p 250.
 79. CPP 1, p 396.
 80. CPR, 1361-4, p 391; *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi... ab Anno 1198 usque ad Annum 1605*, 3 vols, ed C. Eubel, 2nd ed (Regensburg, 1913-23) 1, p 289.
 81. Reg Appleby, fol 10v.
 82. CPR, 1361-4, p 391.
 83. Reg Appleby, fol 1r.
 84. See Appendix C, 'Caldbeck'.
 85. For whom, see Emden, *Oxford* 1, p 41. He held the arch-deaconry from 1364 to 1379; see Appendix B. The inquisition *post mortem* taken in 1380 into the lands of Master John Appleby shows that he held the manor of Ambrose Holme and other lands near Carlisle and in Westmorland; CIPM 15, nos 301-2. Whether there was any connection with the Applebys holding land in Strickland Ketel, in Westmorland, is not clear; cf CIPM 10, nos 341-2, 346; 11, no 329.
 86. For whom, see Emden, *Oxford* 1, pp 40-1. An abstract of his will may be found in *North Country Wills*, 2 vols, ed J.W. Clay, SS 116, 121 (1908-12) 1, p 247.
 87. Reg Appleby, fol 88v. For Bowet, see Emden, *Cambridge*, pp 83-4.
 88. CPR, 1350-4, p 366; Reg Welton, fol 53v.
 89. CPP 1, p 396.
 90. LeNeve, *Fasti*, 1300-1541 6, p 97.
 91. For a general treatment of the fourteenth-century bishops of Carlisle, see Bouch, *Prelates and People*, pp 63-106. Only Bishop Halton has received separate attention; see T.F. Tout's introduction to *Reg Halton* 1, pp i-xliii, and M.J. Kennedy, 'John Halton, Bishop of Carlisle, 1292-1324', *TCNAAS* ns 73 (1973) pp 94-110. A fully detailed account of Anglo-Scottish relations from 1292 to the end of the fourteenth century cannot be given here. My aim has been to restrict the narrative as much as possible to those events in which the bishops were directly involved and which directly

affected the west march. George Ridpath, *The Border History of England and Scotland*, rev ed Philip Ridpath (Berwick, 1810) remains the only book of its kind, but it is of course now much outdated and has many inaccuracies. For more up to date discussions of the later medieval conflicts between England and Scotland, see the relevant parts of Ranald Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1974) and the brief but very readable W. Croft Dickinson, *Scotland from the Earliest Times to 1603*, 3rd ed, rev ed A.A.M. Duncan (Oxford, 1977). For the period up to 1335 I have relied heavily on G.W.S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland*, 2nd ed (Edinburgh, 1976), which has largely superseded E.M. Barron, *The Scottish War of Independence: A Critical Study*, 2nd ed (Inverness, 1934), and on Ranald Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots: The Formative Years of a Military Career, 1327-1335* (Oxford, 1965). Modern historians, like most fourteenth-century chroniclers, have for the most part given fuller attention to the French wars of Edward III after 1337, though E.W.M. Balfour-Melville, *Edward III and David II*, Historical Association Pamphlet 627 (London, 1954); R.L. Storey, 'The Wardens of the Marches of England towards Scotland, 1377-1489', *EHR* 72 (1957) pp 593-615; James Campbell, 'England, Scotland, and the Hundred Years War in the Fourteenth Century', *Europe in the Late Middle Ages*, ed John Hale, Roger Highfield, and Beryl Smalley (London, 1965) pp 184-216; and J.A. Tuck, 'Richard II and the Border Magnates', *NH* 3 (1968) pp 27-52 are notable exceptions.

92. *The Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, 12 vols, ed T. Thomson and C. Innes, Record Commission (London, 1814-75) 1, p 441.
93. *Guisborough*, pp 233-4.
94. *Edward I and the Throne of Scotland, 1290-1296: An Edition of the Record Sources for the Great Cause*, 2 vols, ed E.L.G. Stones and G.G. Simpson (Oxford, 1978) 1, pp 11-13; 2, pp 14, 80; *Lanercost*, p 144.
95. *Edward I and the Throne of Scotland* 2, pp 198-9; *CPR*, 1281-92, p 508.
96. *Edward I and the Throne of Scotland* 2, pp 254, 260, 263, 269.
97. See Appendix A, p 259-60.
98. *CPL* 1, pp 552, 553-4; *Foedera* 1, p 752. Tout mistakenly dated the commission 18 March 1292, *Reg Halton* 1, p x; Kennedy repeated the error in 'John Halton', p 98.

99. *Handbook*, p 286.
100. *Reg Halton* 1, p 156.
101. *Ibid*, pp vii-xvi; there are mistakes in the figures on p xvi; see those given in the text, pp 152-3. In England the new valuation made by assessors appointed in each diocese was completed by January 1291, and sub-collectors, who were not to have also been assessors, were appointed in early 1292, W.E. Lunt, *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England to 1327* (Cambridge, Mass, 1939) pp 346-55.
102. *CPL* 1, pp 554-5; Lunt, *Financial Relations to 1327*, pp 339-40.
103. *Reg Halton* 1, pp 16-21, 35-6, 41-5.
104. *Ibid*, pp 16-18, 152-3; for acquittances issued in 1295, see pp 41-3, 64.
105. *Ibid*, pp 19-21, 36; see also pp 13, 15-16, 45.
106. For the build-up to war, see Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, pp 70-96.
107. *Edward I and the Throne of Scotland* 2, pp 264-73.
108. Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, pp 78-84.
109. *Rot Parl* 1, pp 112-13.
110. Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, pp 86-92.
111. *Foedera* 1, p 801.
112. Michael Prestwich, *War, Politics, and Finance under Edward I* (London, 1972) pp 29-32.
113. *Foedera* 1, pp 822-3, 830; *Acts of Parliament of Scotland* 1, pp 451-3; *Reg Halton* 1, pp 78-84; see also Ranald Nicholson, 'The Franco-Scottish and Franco-Norwegian Treaties of 1295', *SHR* 38 (1959) pp 114-32.
114. *Guisborough*, p 270; *Lanercost*, p 167; *Rot Scot* 1, pp 119-20.
115. *Northern Registers*, pp 119-20; *Lanercost*, p 167.
116. *Parl Writs* 1, pp 275-7; *Lanercost*, pp 169-70.
117. *CDS* 2, no 716; *CPR, 1292-1301*, p 151.
118. *Lanercost*, pp 144-5.

119. *Guisborough*, pp 271-4.
120. *Ibid*, pp 274-80; *Lanercost*, pp 173-9; *Plascarden*, pp 151-2.
121. *Barrow, Robert Bruce*, pp 102-9.
122. *Reg Halton 1*, pp xxi-xxii.
123. *Ibid*, p 153; *CPL 1*, p 587.
124. Lunt, *Financial Relations to 1327*, pp 346-65; J.H. Denton, *Robert Winchelsey and the Crown, 1294-1313: A Study in the Defence of Ecclesiastical Liberty* (Cambridge, 1980) pp 60-80.
125. In a memorandum of 1308 two of the sums given as having been on deposit in various religious houses at the time of the bishop's last audit correspond with the sums of two acquittances issued in 1295, *Reg Halton 1*, pp 42-3, 300.
126. *Ibid*, pp 150-1.
127. *Ibid*, pp 60-2.
128. *Ibid*, pp 73-5. Three acquittances were received for this amount, one for 10,000 marks, the second for £1396 0s 20 1/2d, and the third for £66 13s 4d; *ibid*, pp 153-4.
129. *Ibid*, pp 42-3.
130. *Ibid*, p 300.
131. *Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland, 1286-1306*, 2 vols, ed J. Stevenson (Edinburgh, 1870) 2, no 467.
132. *Barrow, Robert Bruce*, pp 112-26.
133. *Guisborough*, pp 295-6.
134. *CFR, 1272-1307*, p 392. The length of Halton's term as constable is given as five years by J.L. Kirby, 'The Keeping of Carlisle Castle before 1381', *TCHAAS* ns 54 (1954) pp 131-9, at p 134, but it is clear from the context of *CCR, 1302-7*, pp 142-3, that it was six years.
135. *Barrow, Robert Bruce*, p 210; *CDS 2*, nos 907-10; *CPR, 1292-1301*, p 315.
136. *Barrow, Robert Bruce*, pp 123-6.

137. *Guisborough*, pp 303-6.
138. *Reg Halton* 1, p 179.
139. *Ibid*, pp 178-81, 182-3; *CDS* 2, no 1179; 3, no 628.
140. *Guisborough*, p 305.
141. *Ibid*, pp 307-8.
142. *Ibid*, pp 313-15, where the gathering at York is called a *parliamentum*.
143. F.M. Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century*, 2nd ed (Oxford, 1962) pp 688-9.
144. *Parl Writs* 1, pp 314-16.
145. Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, pp 140-1.
146. See Appendix A, p 266.
147. *Reg Halton* 1, pp 178-81, 182-3; *CDS* 2, no 1179.
148. *Guisborough*, pp 325-8.
149. Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, pp 146-7, 152.
150. *Ibid*, pp 146-7; Barron, *The Scottish War of Independence*, pp 122-3.
151. *Rishanger*, p 388; *Guisborough*, p 329.
152. *CDS* 2, no 1009; *CChR*, 1327-41, pp 342-3; Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, p 147.
153. The charter granted the lands of David Oviot in Culter and Dunsyre(?), co Lanark, and Clerkington and Carlops, co Edinburgh, and the lands of John de Laundeles, Patrick Corbet, William de Erth, and Thomas de Brade, and the date of the battle of Falkirk is given as that on which they forfeited, *CChR*, 1327-41, pp 342-3. John de Laundeles of Roxburghshire is listed on the Ragman Roll of 1296; the name of Corbet seems to have been common in the same county; and the names of Erth and Brade can both be associated with the county of Edinburgh, *CDS* 2, no 823 (pp 198-9, 200, 201, 203, 207, 211); 3, nos 1636, 1641, 1670.
154. *Reg Halton* 1, p 207; PRO, SC 8/313/E 67.
155. Kirkby obtained a confirmation of the charter from Edward III in 1335, *CChR*, 1327-41, pp 342-3.

156. For the years 1298 to 1303, see Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, pp 147-77; Barron, *The Scottish War of Independence*, pp 124-47.
157. Prestwich, *War, Politics, and Finance*, pp 263-5; *Guisborough*, p 332; *Rishanger*, p 402.
158. Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, pp 178-82.
159. *Ibid*, pp 182-9, 192-4.
160. *Ibid*, pp 196-214.
161. For differing interpretations of Bruce's submission, see *ibid*, pp 172-5, 185n; E.L.G. Stones, 'The Submission of Robert Bruce to Edward I, c 1301-1302', *SHR* 34 (1955) pp 122-34; A.A.M. Duncan, 'The Community of the Realm of Scotland and Robert Bruce: A Review', *SHR* 45 (1966) pp 184-201.
162. *Guisborough*, pp 366-7.
163. *CDS* 2, no 1754; *Guisborough*, pp 367-8; *Parl Writs* 1, pp 374-7.
164. *Foedera* 1, p 987.
165. *Guisborough*, pp 368-9; Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, pp 228-31.
166. J.R.H. Moorman, 'Edward I at Lanercost Priory, 1306-7', *EHR* 67 (1952) pp 161-74.
167. *Handbook*, p 513; *Guisborough*, p 370.
168. Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, pp 240-4.
169. Lunt, *Financial Relations to 1327*, pp 382-4.
170. *Reg Halton* 1, pp 259-61.
171. *Ibid*, pp 288-9.
172. *Ibid*, p 260; *CPR, 1301-7*, p 506.
173. *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam Illustrantia, 1216-1547*, ed A. Theiner (Rome, 1864) p 178.
174. Halton and Sandale charged themselves with £1833 5s 4 1/2d for the first year and the first term of the second, which would be at a rate of £1222 3s 7d per annum, *CDS* 3, no 127.
175. Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, pp 246-66.

176. *Parl Writs* 2:2, pp 381-400.
177. Barron, *The Scottish War of Independence*, pp 376-84.
178. For the council's events, see K.-J. Hefele, *Histoire des Conciles*, 20 vols, trans H. Leclercq (Paris, 1907-38) 6:2, pp 643-61. For the dissolution of the order of the Templars, see Malcolm Barber, *The Trial of the Templars* (Cambridge, 1978).
179. *Reg Halton* 2, pp 1-9.
180. By the bull *Alma Mater*, issued on 4 April 1310, Hefele, *Conciles* 6:2, p 644.
181. Barber, *Trial of the Templars*, pp 193-204.
182. *Councils and Synods* 2:2, pp 1278-84, 1319-39.
183. The archbishop was at Dover on 11 August, *The Register of William Greenfield, Lord Archbishop of York, 1306-1315*, 5 vols, ed William Brown, SS 145, 149, 151-3 (1931-40) 5, p 317. Halton's movements are less clear, but on 20 August he was granted royal letters of protection, *CPR, 1307-13*, p 379.
184. Hefele, *Conciles* 6:2, pp 643-52. Halton returned between 26 November 1311 and 3 March 1312; see Appendix A, p 270.
185. Jean Scammell, 'Robert I and the North of England', *EHR* 73 (1958) pp 385-403.
186. *Lanercost*, pp 216-17.
187. J.R. Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster, 1307-1322: A Study in the Reign of Edward II* (Oxford, 1970) pp 121-54; J.R.S. Phillips, *Aymar de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, 1307-1324: Baronial Politics in the Reign of Edward II* (Oxford, 1972) pp 38-69.
188. *Lanercost*, pp 219-20; *Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense: The Register of Richard de Kellawe, Lord Palatine and Bishop of Durham, 1314-1316*, 4 vols, ed Thomas Duffus Hardy, RS 62 (1873-8) 1, pp 204-5.
189. Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, pp 274-8.
190. *Parl Writs* 2:1, pp 421-3.
191. Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, pp 276-8; Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, pp 157-8.
192. *Lanercost*, p 224.

193. *Reg Halton* 2, pp 96-7.
194. *Lanercost*, pp 228-30.
195. *CPR*, 1313-17, p 103.
196. *CDS* 3, no 403.
197. *Reg Halton* 2, pp 99-100.
198. See Appendix A, p 271-2.
199. *Lanercost*, pp 229-32; *CDS* 3, no 464. A petition printed in *CDS* 3, no 621, dates the siege from 14 July to 3 August.
200. Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, pp 169-74.
201. *Lanercost*, pp 232-3.
202. Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, pp 183-213; Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, pp 100-35.
203. The ordinances may be found printed in *The Statutes of the Realm*, 11 vols, ed A. Luders et al, Record Commission (1810-28) 1, pp 157-67, and *Rot Parl* 1, pp 281-6.
204. Denton, *Robert Winchelsey*, pp 95, 158-9.
205. See above, pp 32. For Edward's political difficulties in the later years of his reign, see Frestwich, *War, Politics, and Finance*, pp 247-81; Denton, *Robert Winchelsey*; and Harry Rothwell, 'Edward I and the Struggle for the Charters, 1297-1305', *Studies in Medieval History Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke*, ed R.W. Hunt et al (Oxford, 1948) pp 319-32.
206. Compare Appendix A, pp 259-77, and Lancaster's itinerary as given in Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, pp 341-7. The only occasion before 1316 on which they appear to have met was 31 August 1315 at Lancaster's Lincolnshire manor of Long Sutton.
207. Robert Donaldson, 'Patronage and the Church: A Study in the Social Structure of the Secular Clergy in the Diocese of Durham', 2 vols (PhD, University of Edinburgh, 1955) 2, p 128.
208. K. Edwards, 'The Political Importance of the English Bishops during the Reign of Edward II', *EHR* 59 (1944) pp 311-47, especially pp 337-8.
209. Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, pp 190-207; Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, pp 117-28.

210. Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, pp 349-50; *Lanercost*, pp 234-6.
211. I am here following the interpretation of Phillips, who has convincingly disposed of the 'middle party' theory originally formulated by Stubbs and developed by Tout and Davies; see *Aymer de Valence*, pp 136-49. See also J.G. Edwards, 'The Negotiating of the Treaty of Leake, 1318', *Essays in History Presented to Reginald Lane Poole*, ed H.W.C. Davis (Oxford, 1927) pp 360-78; Bertie Wilkinson, 'The Negotiations Preceding the "Treaty" of Leake, August 1318', *Studies in History Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke*, ed R.W. Hunt et al (Oxford, 1948) pp 333-53; and Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, pp 208-29.
212. The treaty is printed in full in *Foedera* 2, p 370, and is calendared in *CCR*, 1318-23, pp 112-14. The named councillors were the bishops of Norwich, Chichester, Ely, Salisbury, St Davids, Carlisle, Hereford, and Worcester; the earls of Pembroke, Richmond, Hereford, and Arundel; Hugh Courtenay, Roger Mortimer, John Segrave, and John Grey.
213. Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, p 180.
214. Ibid, pp 184-7; Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, pp 240-50.
215. *CPR*, 1317-21, p 414; *Foedera* 2, pp 409-11, 416; *CDS* 3, no 681.
216. See A.A.M. Duncan, *The Nation of the Scots and the Declaration of Arbroath (1320)* Historical Association Pamphlet 675 (London, 1970) especially pp 23-37.
217. *Foedera* 2, p 432.
218. *CCR*, 1318-23, p 328; *CPR*, 1317-21, pp 504, 528; *Foedera* 2, pp 434, 438.
219. *CPR*, 1317-21, p 554; *Foedera* 2, p 441.
220. *Anglo-Scottish Relations, 1174-1328: Some Selected Documents*, ed E.L.G. Stones (London, 1965) no 38.
221. *CDS* 3, no 743; *Anglo-Scottish Relations*, no 38(a), (b), (c).
222. *CPR*, 1317-21, p 567; *Anglo-Scottish Relations*, no 38(c).
223. *Anglo-Scottish Relations*, no 38(h).
224. Ibid, no 38(d), (g), (j).
225. Ibid, no 38(h).

226. CDS 3, no 743.
227. CPR, 1321-4, p 37.
228. Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, pp 204-8; *Vita Edwardi Secundi Monachi Cuiusdam Malmesberiensis*, ed N Denholm-Young (London, 1957) p 102.
229. Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, pp 259-68; Natalie Fryde, *The Tyranny and Fall of Edward II, 1321-1326* (Cambridge, 1979) pp 33-44.
230. For discussions of the assemblies, see B. Wilkinson, 'The Sherburn Indenture and the Attack on the Despensers, 1321', *EHR* 63 (1948) pp 1-28; Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, pp 68-79.
231. *Bridlington*, pp 62-5.
232. Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, pp 273-80.
233. Ibid, pp 293-312; Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, pp 214-26. For the fates of the opposition, see Fryde, *Tyranny and Fall*, pp 58-86.
234. *Handbook*, p 528; *Parl Writs* 2, pp 561-4.
235. *Lanercost*, pp 246-8; *Bridlington*, pp 79-80; *Nelsa*, pp 345-6.
236. *Lanercost*, pp 248-9.
237. The indenture, as transmitted to the king, is printed in *Anglo-Scottish Relations*, no 39.
238. *Lanercost*, p 249.
239. CDS 3, nos 800-1.
240. *Lanercost*, pp 249-50. For a full account of Harclay's career, see J. Mason, 'Sir Andrew de Harcla, Earl of Carlisle', *TCMAAS* ns 29 (1929) pp 98-137.
241. *Foedera* 2, pp 521, 524.
242. See Appendix A, pp 276-7.
243. *Reg Halton* 2, pp 225, 232-3.
244. *Lanercost*, p 253; PRO, E 372/172 m 47.
245. *Reg Halton* 1, p xliii.
246. See above, p 10-11.

247. *CPL* 2, p 242.
248. *Reg Ross*, fol 138v. The letter is undated, but it seems certain that it was sent at the same time as the following entry, another letter from the chapter, dated 13 July.
249. *Reg Melton* 1, nos 267, 270.
250. For the events leading up to Edward II's downfall, see Fryde, *Tyranny and Fall*, pp 134-94.
251. For the deposition of Edward II, see *ibid*, pp 195-206.
252. *Willelmi de Dene Notarii Publici Historia Roffensis ab Anno MCCCXIV ad MCCCL*, in *Anglia Sacra*, ed Henry Wharton (London, 1691) 1, pp 356-83, at p 366, contemptuously states of the archbishop that he feared the queen more than God.
253. *Ibid*, p 367; *Lanercost*, p 254.
254. *Reg Sacrum Anglicanum*, p 73.
255. *Lanercost*, p 258-9.
256. *Foedera* 2:2, pp 872-3.
257. For the campaign of 1327, see Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, pp 19-45.
258. For the negotiations, see E.L.G. Stones, 'The English Mission to Edinburgh in 1328', *SHR* 28 (1949) pp 121-32; *idem*, 'The Anglo-Scottish Negotiations of 1327', *SHR* 30 (1951) pp 49-54; *idem*, 'The Treaty of Northampton, 1328', *History* ns 38 (1953) pp 54-61. For the text of the treaty, see *Anglo-Scottish Relations*, no 41.
259. See Appendix A, pp 278-80.
260. PRO, SC 10/13/638.
261. PRO, SC 10/13/664.
262. *CFR*, 1327-37, p 312.
263. *Lanercost*, pp 253, 276.
264. See above, p 10-11.
265. For the disinherited and the invasion of Scotland in 1332, see Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, pp 57-94.
266. See above, p 13.

267. Reg Kirkby, fol 155r; *CCR*, 1333-7, p 302.
268. Ibid, fols 154v, 155r; *CPL* 2, p 403.
269. *Rot Parl* 2, pp 67-9.
270. Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, pp 101-4.
271. Ibid, pp 107-10.
272. *Lanercost*, pp 272-3.
273. The details of the incident remain unclear. See *CDS* 3, nos 1067, 1072, 1089; *CPR*, 1330-4, p 499; *CCR*, 1333-7, p 209; PRO, SC 8/169/8409.
274. *Northern Registers*, pp 364-8.
275. Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, pp 118-38.
276. Ibid, pp 139-54.
277. *Foedera* 2:2, p 888; *Lanercost*, p 277.
278. Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, pp 163-73.
279. *Rot Scot* 1, p 276.
280. Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, pp 174-91.
281. *Foedera* 2:2, p 904.
282. Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, pp 192-202.
283. See Appendix A, pp 283-4.
284. Reg Kirkby, fol 160v; *CPR*, 1334-8, pp 129-30; *CChR*, 1327-41, pp 342-3.
285. For the retinues of Bishop Kirkby and other magnates participating in the campaign of 1335, see Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, pp 248-50. In 1349 Kirkby stated that he had been charged in full parliament to retain these numbers 'in the king's first passage' to Scotland; *CCR*, 1349-54, p 50. This must be in reference to the campaign of 1335, since no such indentures had been made in the parliament preceding the campaign of 1333, and, as noted, the bishop had not participated in the winter campaign of 1334-5; cf Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, p 107.
286. Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, pp 200-2.
287. Ibid, pp 203-24.

288. Reg Kirkby, fol 163v.
289. Rot Scot 1, pp 385-6.
290. Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, pp 230-6.
291. *Foedera* 2:2, p 888. .
292. *Fordun* 1, pp 360-1; *Pluscarden* 1, pp 281-2; *Lanercost*, pp 287-8; *Melsa* 2, p 377; *Knighton* 1, p 477; *Walsingham* HA 1, p 197.
293. *Fordun* 1, pp 361-2; *Pluscarden* 1, p 283; *Lanercost*, p 288; *Hemingburgh* 2, p 313.
294. Rot Scot 1, pp 487-8; Reg Kirkby, fol 180r.
295. For the composition of the army, see N.B. Lewis, 'The Recruitment and Organization of a Contract Army, May to November 1337', *BIHR* 37 (1964) pp 1-19.
296. See Appendix A, p 286.
297. *Fordun* 1, p 362; *Lanercost*, p 290; *Hemingburgh* 2, p 313; *Walsingham* HA 1, p 198.
298. *Lanercost*, pp 290-1.
299. Ibid, pp 291-3.
300. Rot Scot 1, p 503.
301. *Lanercost*, p 293. Lewis, 'Contract Army, 1337', pp 17-18 shows that Kirkby had begun the reduction of his retinue on 15 October and that a shire levy of Cumberland and Westmorland troops was in the king's pay from 6 to 14 November.
302. Reg Kirkby, fol 189v.
303. Lewis, 'Contract Army, 1337', p 17.
304. Rot Scot 1, pp 507-8, 511; Reg Kirkby, fols 54r, 55v.
305. Reg Kirkby, fol 190v.
306. *Fordun* 1, pp 362-3; *Pluscarden* 1, pp 284-6; *Lanercost*, pp 295-7; *Melsa* 2, p 385; *Hemingburgh* 2, p 315; *Scala-cronica*, p 168. The truce was certainly in effect by 30 July; Rot Scot 1, p 540.
307. Rot Scot 1, pp 564-5.
308. See Appendix A, p 287.

309. *CFR*, 1337-47, p 140; Kirby, 'The Keeping of Carlisle', p 137.
310. Reg Kirkby, fol 192Ar. It is not clear how long Kirkby was constable in the first instance. Anthony Lucy seems to have had the keeping of the castle before 19 November 1341 and certainly had it before 25 June 1343, when it was entrusted to the bishop for the second time. It is also not clear whether Kirkby was still in possession of the castle on 24 March 1344, when it was granted to him for the third and last time; *CFR*, 1337-47, pp 140, 250, 334, 363.
311. Bullock's defection had been made known to the English authorities by 28 July, when grants were made of his forfeited lands; *Rot Scot* 1, p 571.
312. *CCR*, 1339-41, pp 208, 361.
313. *Fordun* 1, pp 363-5; *Pluscarden* 1. pp 287-8; *Lanercost*, pp 317-18.
314. *Rot Parl* 2, pp 107-11.
315. *Ibid*, pp 112-13.
316. *Rot Scot* 1, p 600.
317. For the text of the truce, see *Foedera* 2:2, pp 1135-7. Commissioners were appointed to treat with the Scots on 14 December, when the truce had already been in effect for two months, but there is no evidence that hostilities ceased; *Rot Scot* 1, p 604.
318. *CDS* 3, no 1383; *Fordun* 1, p 365.
319. *Rot Scot* 1, p 609; *Melsa* 3, pp 48-9.
320. *Fordun* 1, p 365 sets the date of David's landing at 2 June.
321. *Rot Scot* 1, p 610; *Foedera* 2:2, p 1171.
322. *CCR*, 1341-3, p 238.
323. *Melsa* 3, p 49; *Lanercost*, p 335, where the events of 1341 were mistakenly included with those of 1340. The earliest official source to mention the raid is dated 3 October; *Rot Scot* 1, p 616.
324. *Murimuth*, pp 122-3.
325. *Rot Scot* 1, pp 617-18.

326. *Lanercost*, p 335; *Melsa* 3, p 49; *Knighton* 2, p 23. *Muriæuth*, pp 123, 223 states that the truce was to last until Pentecost (19 May) 1342, but the renewal of diplomatic activity in early February suggests that it was coming to an end at that time, perhaps on Ash Wednesday (13 February); *Rot Scot* 1, p 621.
327. See Appendix A, p 289.
328. Reg Kirkby, fols 219v, 221v, 222v.
329. Negotiators were appointed on 10 February; safe-conducts were issued for the Scottish commissioners on 14 February, 16 March, and 20 March; and a new appointment of English commissioners was made on 3 April; *Rot Scot* 1, pp 621-4; *Foedera* 2:2, p 1191.
330. *Fordun* 1, p 365; *Pluscarden* 1, p 290; *CDS* 3, nos 1382-3.
331. On 5 April Kirkby certified the chapter of York that he had just returned from attending the king's council; Reg Kirkby, fol 230v. He appears to have been on his way to London on 30 March, when he can be placed at the episcopal manor of Bewley in Westmorland; see Appendix A, p 289.
332. PRO, E 101/68/3 no 58.
333. *Rot Scot* 1, pp 626-7.
334. Ibid, pp 628-32.
335. *Fordun* 1, pp 365-6; *Pluscarden* 1, pp 290-1.
336. For the text of the truce, see *Hemingburgh* 2, pp 397-400; *Muriæuth*, pp 129-35; *Avesbury*, pp 344-51; *Walsingham HA* 1, pp 250-3.
337. *Rot Scot* 1, pp 638-9.
338. *CFR*, 1337-47, pp 334.
339. *Rot Scot* 1, p 640. A.A.M. Duncan, 'A Siege of Lochmaben Castle in 1343', *TDSNHAS* ser 3, 31 (1954) pp 74-7 argues convincingly that Walsingham's account (*Walsingham HA* 1, p 254) of a siege of Lochmaben raised by Kirkby, Thomas Lucy, and Walter Selby is unreliable.
340. *CDS* 3, no 1033, where for unknown reasons this document is dated to 1330-1, in the episcopate of John Ross, who was never the recipient of a royal commission. It is more likely to date to 1343, when Kirkby was a keeper of the truce, and certainly before 1346,

when John Randolph, third earl of Moray was killed and William Douglas was captured at Neville's Cross.

- 341. *Rot Scot* 1, p 640.
- 342. *Ibid*, pp 648-9.
- 343. *Rot Parl* 2, p 147.
- 344. *Reg Kirkby*, fol 247r.
- 345. *Knighton* 2, p 30.
- 346. *Rot Scot* 1, pp 652-3, 654-5; *Foedera* 3:1, p 21.
- 347. *Rot Scot* 1, p 656.
- 348. Commissions to treat with the northern magnates or to ordain for the defence of the march were issued on 27 July 1341, before 14 August and on 14 August 1344, 8 June 1345, 8 March 1346, and 12 September 1346; *Foedera* 2:2, p 1171; *Rot Scot* 1, pp 651, 663, 670, 674.
- 349. *Rot Scot* 1, pp 639-74.
- 350. *CPR*, 1343-5, p 588; *CPR*, 1345-8, p 83.
- 351. *CCR*, 1343-6, p 459; *CPR*, 1343-5, pp 507-8.
- 352. *CPR*, 1343-5, p 587.
- 353. *Ibid*, p 588.
- 354. *CFR*, 1337-47, p 441. An earlier commitment of the castle issued on 8 September to Hugh Moriceby does not seem to have been effective; *ibid*, p 438.
- 355. *CPR*, 1345-8, pp 83, 88-9.
- 356. *Rot Scot* 1, p 663.
- 357. *Ibid*, pp 664-5.
- 358. *Lanercost*, p 341; *Walsingham HA* 1, pp 266-7.
- 359. *Lanercost*, p 341.
- 360. *Rot Scot* 1, p 667.
- 361. *Ibid*, pp 669-70.
- 362. *Ibid*, pp 672-3.
- 363. *Hemingburgh* 2, pp 422-3.

364. *Lanercost*, p 341; *Murimuth*, p 202.
365. *Rot Scot* 1, pp 673-4.
366. *Knighton* 2, p 41.
367. *Fordun* 1, p 367; *Pluscarden* 1, pp 292-5; *Lanercost*, pp 344-52; *Melsa* 3, pp 60-2. For a fuller list of Scottish captives and the business attending their imprisonment, see *Rot Scot* 1, pp 675-81.
368. *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swynebroke*, ed E.M. Thompson (Oxford, 1889) p 87.
369. *Rot Scot* 1, p 675.
370. *Lanercost*, p 352; *Knighton* 2, pp 44-5; *Anonimalle*, p 28.
371. *Rot Scot* 1, pp 700-5; *Foedera* 3:1, p 136.
372. The first safe-conduct for Scottish envoys empowered to discuss the release was issued on 30 January 1348; *Rot Scot* 1, p 709.
373. His name is not included among those of the magnates providing men for that expedition; *Rot Scot* 1, pp 691-2.
374. *Foedera* 3:1, p 151.
375. *Ibid*, p 171; *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker*, p 97.
376. *CCR*, 1346-9, p 570; *Foedera* 3:1, p 176.
377. This is based on the payments due to him and his men in 1342; *Rot Scot* 1, pp 626-7.
378. Unfortunately, the amount is not stated that the bishop thought was owed to him; *CCR*, 1349-54, p 50; cf note 285 above.
379. *CCR*, 1339-41, p 361.
380. *CCR*, 1341-3, p 238; *Foedera* 2:2, p 1176.
381. *Rot Scot* 1, pp 626-7; *CCR*, 1343-6, pp 71, 87.
382. *CFR*, 1337-47, p 333. The grant was revoked on 8 October 1347, but the revocation does not seem to have been effective, as Kirkby was still farmer of the priory in July 1351 and June 1352; *CFR*, 1347-56, pp 47, 341; *CCR*, 1349-54, p 306.
383. *CFR*, 1347-56, pp 147-8, 178.

384. See Appendix A, p 292; *Records of the Northern Convocation*, p 87.
385. See above, p 12; PRO, SC 10/26/1262.
386. PRO, E 372/198 m 38d; SC 6/1144/14.
387. Reg Welton, fol 1r; *CPR*, 1350-4, p 470.
388. See Appendix A, p 294.
389. *CPL* 3, pp 469, 487.
390. Ibid, p 513; *CPP* 1, p 241.
391. See Appendix A, pp 294-308.
392. Reg Welton, fols 1r, 3r, 7r.
393. W.E. Lunt, *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England, 1327-1534* (Cambridge, Mass, 1962) pp 169-77, 758-9. Payments of the subsidy at Easter and Christmas 1354 correspond to payments of 580 florins to the papal camera on 8 April and 19 December 1354. There is no record of payments to the camera of the sacred college, but he would have been bound to them in 520 florins.
394. *Rot Scot* 1, pp 761-71; *Foedera* 3:1, pp 264, 279; Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, p 160.
395. For the Anglo-French negotiations, see Kenneth Fowler, *The King's Lieutenant: Henry of Grosmont, First Duke of Lancaster* (London, 1969) pp 131-44.
396. Reg Welton, fol 61v.
397. *Rot Scot* 1, pp 775-8.
398. *Fordun* 1, pp 370-2; *Pluscarden* 1, pp 296-7; *Anonimalle*, pp 33-4; *Knighton* 2, p 79; *Avesbury*, p 431; *Walsingham* HA 1, p 280; *Rot Scot* 1, pp 779-82.
399. *Rot Parl* 2, pp 264-5, 269.
400. *Fordun* 1, pp 373-4; *Pluscarden* 1, pp 297-8; *Knighton* 2, pp 84-5; *Avesbury*, pp 432, 450-4; *Walsingham* HA 1, pp 280-1; *Rot Scot* 1, pp 787-9; *CDS* 3, nos 1591-2, 1596, 1603.
401. For the negotiations for David's release, see Balfour-Melville, *Edward III and David II*, pp 14-20; Campbell, 'England, Scotland and the Hundred Years War', pp 196-8.

402. Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, pp 161-2.
403. *Rot Scot* 1, pp 791, 794.
404. Ibid, pp 799, 802-4, 809, 811-14; *Foedera* 3:1, p 365; *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland* 1, pp 518-21.
405. *Fordun* 1, p 377; *Scalacronica*, p 176; *Knighton* 2, p 98; *Walsingham HA* 1, p 284.
406. *Rot Scot* 1, pp 782, 790, 839; *Reg Welton*, fol 42r.
407. For the development of the wardenship of the marches, see Rachel Reid, 'The Office of the Warden of the Marches; its Origin and Early History', *EHR* 32 (1917) pp 479-96; Storey, 'The Wardens of the Marches, 1377-1489'; Marjorie L. Boyle, 'Early History of the Wardens of the Marches of England towards Scotland, 1296-1377' (MA, University of Hull, 1980). For the laws of the marches, see *Leges Marchiarum*, ed William Nicolson (London, 1705); *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland* 1, pp 413-16.
408. On 21 October 1361 Henry Percy, Ralph Neville, Thomas Grey, Richard Tempest, and John Coupland were appointed wardens of both marches; *Rot Scot* 1, p 857.
409. *CPR, 1358-61*, pp 414-15.
410. *Reg Welton*, fol 42r.
411. *Rot Scot* 1, p 844.
412. *Reg Welton*, fol 42v; *Rot Scot* 1, p 856.
413. *Reg Welton*, fol 42r/v.
414. *Knighton* 2, p 101; *Rot Scot* 1, pp 826-8.
415. *Rot Scot* 1, p 835; *CDS* 4, no 27; Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, pp 167-8.
416. *CCR, 1354-60*, p 318; *Rot Scot* 1, pp 832-3, 839, 850. It is not entirely clear whether Hermitage castle had been taken in time of truce or during the recent hostilities of 1356; cf *ibid*, p 826.
417. Ibid, pp 851-3, 859, 862, 864; *Foedera* 3:1, pp 506, 659.
418. PRO, E 372/208 m 48; see Appendix A, pp 306-8.
419. PRO, SC 10/28/1373.

420. This is based on the dates of death of the tenants-in-chief of the two counties from 1361 to 1363, as given in *CIPM* 11, *passim*; 13, no 306; 15, no 32.
421. See above, p 14-15.
422. Reg Appleby, fol 10v.
423. See Appendix A, p 309.
424. Reg Appleby, fol 1r.
425. Ibid, fol 10v.
426. *Rot Scot* 1, pp 903, 906, 910, 935, 939-40, 945-6, 948-9, 951-2, 962, 972; 2, pp 2, 5, 19-20.
427. Reg Appleby, fol 37r.
428. Ibid, fol 8r. The letter is not dated, but from its place in the register it is probable that it was written at that time.
429. *Rot Scot* 1, pp 894-5.
430. '...nous entendons cest assavoir de prendre naymes afforcement en manere de guere pur checun menu trespas faits sur les ditz marches dune part et dautrement contreestant les trewes prisses parentre nostre seignur le Roi Dengleterre et vous, quele chose auxi come nous entendons nest pas pleisaunte a vous meis despleisaunte...'
431. *CDS* 3, no 1664; 4, no 128; *Rot Scot* 1, pp 875-6, 887-8, 965-6.
432. Ibid, p 904.
433. Reg Appleby, fols 12r, 13v.
434. *Rot Scot* 1, pp 909-11.
435. Ibid, pp 913-15.
436. Ibid, p 918.
437. Reg Appleby, fol 29r.
438. Ibid, fol 41v.
439. *Rot Scot* 1, pp 900, 909, 921, 928.
440. Reg Appleby, fol 31r.
441. *Rot Scot* 1, pp 933-5, 938-40.

442. B. Webster, 'The English Occupations of Dumfriesshire in the Fourteenth Century', *TDENHAS* ser 3, 35 (1958) pp 64-80; Tuck, 'Richard II and the Border Magnates', pp 27-39.
443. As early as 1360 the earl had come to an agreement with David II, whereby they split the revenues from Annandale outright.
444. *Rot Scot* 1, pp 294, 771-2, 778-9, 832-3.
445. *CCR*, 1354-60, p 318; *Rot Scot* 1, p 826.
446. *CCR*, 1369-74, p 338.
447. *CIPM* 11, no 60; *CCR*, 1360-4, p 323.
448. *Reg Appleby*, fols 88v, 89r; *CIPM* 14, no 19; *CPR*, 1374-7, pp 224, 294, 311; *CCR*, 1374-7, p 433.
449. *CPR*, 1374-7, pp 225, 229; *CFR*, 1368-77, pp 305, 356.
450. *Rot Scot* 2, pp 16, 19, 42-3.
451. *Ibid* 1, p 361; *Reg Appleby*, fols 56v-57r, 60r.
452. This lordship had been granted to the Percies in 1334 by Edward III in compensation for his confirmation to Edward Bohun of Balliol's grant of the lordship of Annandale, which had been also claimed by the Percies; see Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, p 170.
453. *Rot Scot* 1, pp 955, 965; *Foedera* 3:2, p 1011.
454. *Ibid*, pp 939-40, 958-9, 960, 967, 971, 983.
455. *CDS* 4, no 260.
456. T.F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England: The Wardrobe, the Chamber, and the Small Seals*, 6 vols (Manchester, 1920-33) 3, p 262; Dorothy Bruce Weske, *Convocation of the Clergy: A Study of its Antecedents and its Rise with Special Emphasis upon its Growth and Activities in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (London, 1937) pp 163-4, 256, 286.
457. *Reg Appleby*, fols 44r-46r.
458. *Walsingham HA* 1, p 309; *Anonimale*, p 63; *Polychronicon* 8, p 372.
459. *Walsingham HA* 1, pp 312-13; *Anonimale*, p 67; *Polychronicon* 8, pp 375-6.

460. Reg Appleby, fol 55v.
461. Weske, *Convocation of the Clergy*, pp 164-5.
462. Reg Appleby, fol 53r/v.
463. Ibid, fol 53v-54r.
464. For the antecedents, see George Holmes, *The Good Parliament* (Oxford, 1975) pp 7-99.
465. *Rot Parl* 2, p 322; *Anonimalle*, pp 83-5.
466. See Appendix A, p 316.
467. For the proceedings, see Holmes, *The Good Parliament*, pp 100-58.
468. Tout, *Chapters* 3, pp 326-9; N.B. Lewis, 'The "Continual Council" in the Early Years of Richard II, 1377-80', *EHR* 41 (1926) pp 246-51.
469. *Rot Parl* 3, pp 4-6.
470. Tout, *Chapters* 3, p 344; Lewis, 'The "Continual Council"'.
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471. He received 400 marks in part payment on 12 August 1378, and on 23 March 1386 the treasurer was ordered to pay him £100, part of which was the balance due for his service on the continual council; Reg Appleby, fols 133r, 135r.
472. *Rot Parl* 3, p 34.
473. See Appendix A, pp 317-18.
474. *Rot Scot* 2, pp 2, 5, 19-20.
475. *Walsingham HA* 1, p 340.
476. *CDS* 4, nos 242, 261, 264; *Rot Scot* 2, pp 3, 9.
477. *Rot Scot* 2, p 12.
478. *Fordun* 1, p 382; *Pluscarden* 1, pp 313-14; *Anonimalle*, pp 125-6; *Walsingham HA* 1, pp 387-9.
479. *Rot Scot* 2, p 14.
480. For John of Gaunt's involvement in the north and the earl of Northumberland's resentment of his intrusion, see especially Storey, 'Wardens of the Marches, 1377-1489', pp 595-8; and Tuck, 'Richard II and the Border Magnates', pp 39-43.

481. *Walsingham HA* 1, pp 409-10, 437-8.
482. *Rot Scot* 2, pp 27-8.
483. *Ibid.*, pp 29-30.
484. The last payment had been made in June 1377; *ibid.*, pp 1-2.
485. *Ibid.*, pp 36, 38-9.
486. *Walsingham HA* 2, p 105; *Polychronicon* 9, p 21.
487. In 1380 Gaunt seems to have been instructed to raise the issue of the territory that the Scots had taken since 1357, and in 1383 he was sent a mandate not to restore to the Scots any English-held lands in Scotland; *CDS* 4, no 295; *Rot Scot* 2, p 51.
488. *Walsingham HA* 2, pp 108-9.
489. *Rot Scot* 2, pp 54-5, 59-60.
490. *Fordun* 1, p 383; *Pluscarden* 1, p 320; *Polychronicon* 9, p 28.
491. *Knighton* 2, p 203.
492. *Reg Appleby*, fol 133r.
493. *Knighton* 2, p 203; *Walsingham HA* 2, pp 111-12.
494. *Rot Scot* 2, pp 62-5; *Foedera*, ed Rymer, 7, pp 418-21.
495. *Walsingham HA* 2, pp 115, 118; *Polychronicon* 9, pp 50, 52.
496. *Rot Scot* 2, pp 72-3.
497. *Fordun* 1, p 383; *Pluscarden* 1, pp 322-3; *Knighton* 2, pp 204-5; *Walsingham HA* 2, pp 129, 131-3; *Polychronicon* 9, pp 63-4, 66-7; *Froissart*, bk 2, caps 29, 171-3.
498. *Rot Scot* 2, pp 75-6.
499. *Ibid.*, p 78; *Reg Appleby*, fol 133r.
500. *Rot Scot* 2, pp 82-3, 84-5, 88-9.
501. *Pluscarden* 1, pp 325-8; *Knighton* 2, pp 297-8; *Walsingham HA* 2, pp 175-6; *Polychronicon* 9, pp 185-7; *Froissart*, bk 3, caps 125-30.
502. *CCR*, 1385-9, p 604.

503. *Knighton* 2, pp 308-9; *Walsingham HA* 2, p 180; *Poly-chronicon* 9, pp 201, 205-6, 213.
504. *Walsingham HA* 2, pp 182-3; *Foedera*, ed Rymer, 7, pp 622-9. For Anglo-French relations at this time, see J.J.N. Palmer, *England, France, and Christendom, 1377-99* (London, 1972) pp 142-79.
505. *Foedera*, ed Rymer, 7, p 639.
506. *Ibid*, pp 714-18, 724.
507. *Rot Scot* 2, pp 121-2.
508. LeNeve, *Fasti, 1300-1541* 6, p 97.
509. *Rot Parl* 3, p 237; R.G. Davies, 'The Episcopate and the Political Crisis in England of 1386-1388', *Speculum* 51 (1976) pp 659-93.

PART II

THE BISHOPS AND THE DIOCESE

1. Records and Record-Keeping

Episcopal registers have been of such great importance for the writing of the history of diocesan administration that it is sometimes easy to forget that they were but one kind of record kept and that later medieval bishops' archives contained a much larger collection of charters, papal bulls, rolls, court books, and other documents lying loose. Yet across the country the registers have been the great survivors of time, natural calamity, and human negligence.[1] Although the books and records of the medieval church tended to be scattered or kept without due regard in the post-Reformation period, *codices* such as registers and cartularies proved to be durable and seem to have been accorded more respect than the voluminous unbound documentation that had been stored in episcopal, cathedral, and monastic archives. Even when old manuscripts later achieved something of a vogue status among wealthy Englishmen and cathedral canons, registers and cartularies possessed something greater than mere antiquarian interest, for they contained a great deal of valuable information on ecclesiastical patronage, property, and rights, none of which had diminished in importance after the break with Rome. Without doubt, it was this lasting value of the registers, along with a certain amount of continuity in the modes of record-keeping, that was the primary cause for their survival.

Generally, medieval local records have not fared well

in Cumberland and Westmorland, and it should not be surprising that major portions of ecclesiastical archives have been lost. Such losses may in part be attributed to the hazards of keeping muniments in what was throughout the later middle ages and beyond a very disturbed part of the realm. In November 1315 Bishop Halton informed the official of York that he was unable to send a copy of the proceedings of the divorce of Sir John Wigton and Denise Lovetoft, because the Scots had burnt his manors, where records of his judicial acts were kept.[2] More of the episcopal archives may possibly have been consumed by fire when the Scots destroyed the manor of Rose in 1337.[3] Nevertheless, the contemporary turbulence of the border region cannot alone account for the subtraction of medieval records. The accidental fire of 1292 that caused the destruction of the cathedral and nearly the entire city of Carlisle also burned up the royal charters that had been granted to the city.[4] On such an occasion, the wonder is that the priory's muniments did in fact survive.[5] Moreover, it is evident that a number of important records have only vanished in more recent centuries. The register of Ralph Irton (1278-92) seems to have disappeared in the second half of the sixteenth century. William Strickland's register (1399-1419) was certainly extant at the beginning and that of Marmaduke Lumley (1429-50) may have still existed at the end of the seventeenth century, while a fragment of the register of Richard Scrope (1464-8) had survived to the middle of the eighteenth.[6] On the other

hand, some important recoveries have lately been made. A series of fifteenth-century estate accounts belonging to the see, known early this century but subsequently misplaced, were rediscovered about fifteen years ago.[7] More recently, an eighteenth-century copy of the 1370 rental of Dalston and forty-eight documents dating from around 1130 to 1504, mainly relating to the bishopric's lands, were found in private hands and have been deposited in the Cumbria County Record Office.[8] It is unlikely, however, that any more such discoveries of mislaid muniments will be made.

The medieval registers that have survived are bound in two large volumes, the first containing the registers of Bishops Halton and Kirkby along with an eleven-folio fragment of that of Bishop Ross, and the second containing the registers of Bishops Welton and Appleby.[9] Of these, only Welton's appears to have passed through time unscathed. The contents of the first volume were assembled at an early date, perhaps during the episcopate of either Gilbert Welton or Thomas Appleby. Two medieval foliations allow some detection of the loss of leaves since then. Originally, Bishop Halton's register appears to have consisted of at least one hundred and twenty-five folios. Eight folios that had mistakenly been placed at the end, the first, fifth, and eighth of which having been numbered 120, 117, and 121 respectively, were later put back in their proper place at the beginning of the register, though out of order.[10] Thereafter,

the leaves were numbered continuously 1 through 115, but it may be observed that there are two folios 20 and also two numbered 31. The second foliation with numbers in the top right-hand corner probably dates from the fifteenth century. Before this was done, five folios were evidently lost, and subsequently one more.[11] Both foliations were carried over into Kirkby's register, although the earlier of the two was continued only as far as 130. As for the later, arabic numerals in what appears to be a fifteenth-century hand were employed from folio 139, and from folio 156 a later hand succeeded, numbering consecutively to 256, though 192 was accidentally used twice.[12] Under such circumstances, it is more difficult to determine the extent of losses, but it is clear that from the time of the first foliation the register has been in a state of disorder. The fragment of Ross' register occupies folios 130 through 140, thus interrupting the record of Bishop Kirkby's acts, which begins on folio 122 and is resumed on folio 142, folio 141 apparently having gone missing. Since the foliation was completed, folio 197 has also evidently disappeared. Folio 207 ends in an incomplete entry, suggesting that it was followed by at least one now vanished folio. Also, folios 91 and 92 are out of place, as the remainder of the entry begun at the bottom of folio 94 may be found at the top of folio 91. Moreover, the whole of the end of the register where were recorded letters and acts from 1347 has perished. The fact that the surviving part of Ross' register was incorporated into the first foliation (fols 124-30

[-134]) indicates that the remainder was lost early, before the end of the fourteenth century.[13]

The second volume begins with a single folio recording the acts of John Horncastle, the bishop-elect who was supplanted by the papal provisor Gilbert Welton. Welton's register is comprised of sixty-four folios, preceded by a six-folio table of contents probably compiled soon after the bishop's death. While the whole of this register appears to have survived intact, that of his successor Thomas Appleby has unfortunately suffered substantial losses. Only one hundred and twelve folios remain of what was originally a much larger manuscript. A medieval foliation numbering up to ninety-four leaves is continued in a modern hand to folio 136, the last in the register. Before the medieval foliation was made, at least one leaf appears to have been lost following folio 4, which ends in an incomplete entry. Aside from this, sixteen of the first ninety-four folios have vanished, so that only seventy-eight remain.[14] An additional eight folios have disappeared from the rest of the register since the medieval foliation was completed in modern times.[15] Furthermore, nothing survives of the folios recording the acts of the last three years of Appleby's episcopate, which probably represents the loss of about fifteen more leaves.

There is no evidence whatsoever that there ever existed in the diocese of Carlisle a chancellor who had custody of the bishop's seals and charge of a staff of scriveners along with the episcopal archives. In any case, by the

fourteenth century in other English dioceses the chancellor's office had become judicial in nature, and he was usually to be found presiding in his bishop's court of audience. The duties of generating and preserving documents and records, which had originally been within the chancellor's province, devolved upon the registrar.[16] The fourteenth-century registrars of the bishops of Carlisle and their incumbent responsibilities are obscure. Only one, Master William Ragenhill, a notary from the diocese of York and *scriba* of Bishop Welton, is so identified in the registers.[17] Kirkby's *scriba et registrarius* was listed among those present at an inquest in 1344 but was not named.[18] Thomas Richmond, Bishop Appleby's registrar, or perhaps one of the several of his long episcopate, is known from a petition of indeterminate date to the chancellor of England but may not in any way be noticed in his master's register.[19] It is usually not even possible to guess at the identities of the other registrars. However, if Bishop Kirkby recognised the benefits, as patently did his successor, of appointing a notary public to the post, a good case might be made out for the occupancy of the office during his episcopate of one Master John Hackthorpe, a native of the diocese. Hackthorpe had been a notary from at least 1317 and was called upon by Bishop Kirkby to attest to three documents recorded in his register.[20]

The registrar's primary concern was of course to keep the bishop's register up to date. From at least the turn of the fifteenth century, he was in addition the officer to

whom the rural deans accounted for the revenues arising from the spiritualities of the see: synodals, corrections or fines imposed for sins detected, registration of wills, pensions due from churches, and various fees charged for licences, letters, and certain acts.[21] It is likely that this arrangement was of longer standing, and that it was just such activities on the part of Appleby's registrar Thomas Richmond that caused so much resentment that he was repeatedly assaulted while attempting 'due execution de son office'.[22] Clearly, the scribal side of his office did not place very great demands on the registrar's time. On average, only between four and five folios would appear to have been added to the registers of Halton and Appleby in the course of a year. Kirkby's register acquired between seven and eight new folios annually and Welton's between six and seven. Nothing better illustrates the small scale of diocesan administration at Carlisle than these facts. In contrast, more than 1200 folios were required to record the acts of Henry Burghersh, bishop of the massive diocese of Lincoln from 1320 to 1340. After twenty years as bishop of Bath and Wells, more comparable in size to the diocese of Carlisle, the register of John Droxford (1309-29) extended to nearly 300 folios.[23]

Before an analysis of the administration of the diocese and church life in the region may be attempted, it is of the utmost importance that the nature and limitations of the episcopal register as a historical source be fully appreciated. The register's form was developed in the cen-

tury following the fourth Lateran council in response to the need for permanent, accessible records of acts and letters at a time when episcopal government was expanding and becoming more complex.[24] The quintessence of every register is the record of transactions relating to benefices and their incumbents: letters of presentation and institution, mandates to induct, inquests taken during vacancies, ordinations of vicarages, and the like. In addition, lists of the men on whom had been conferred the orders of acolyte, sub-deacon, deacon, and priest are found in most registers. The advantages to the bishop of having such information set forth in this convenient form are obvious, especially when travelling or conducting a visitation of his diocese. Aside from these categories, the registers contain records of the sundry licences customarily issued; temporary, *ad hoc* commissions and commissions of diocesan officers, such as vicars-general and officials; mandates to those officers to perform certain tasks; royal writs; mandates from the metropolitan and his court; and all manner of other correspondence relating to matters in which the bishop was involved or took an interest.

Registrars in most dioceses had by 1300 facilitated reference by the creation of divisions within the registers: institutions, writs, general memoranda, and such like.[25] Such a classification system was of great importance for the efficient administration of a diocese the size of Lincoln, and Professor Hill has demonstrated how the registrar of Bishop Sutton further devised an elaborate system of

cross-reference by means of pen-and-ink drawings.[26] However, the matter entered in the fourteenth-century registers of the smaller diocese of Carlisle was not differentiated in his way. Rather, all letters and memoranda were entered at intervals of time in roughly chronological order, though an effort was usually made to place entries relating to one another near or next to each other, such as the letters representing the various steps involved in the conferment or exchange of benefices. Welton's registrar William Ragenhill made separate the lists of ordinands, which had hitherto been written up within the general body of the registers, and also distinguished each letter of collation, or bestowal of a benefice in the bishop's gift, from other matters by a drawing in the margin of a hand pointing to the entry. These two innovations were continued by the clerks of Bishop Appleby. Welton's register is peculiar in that for part of his episcopate, from July 1353 to August 1357, two records of his acts were kept, now occupying folios 1 through 14 and 53 through 62. There is no obvious explanation for the anomaly. The two sections are not duplicates of one another. Nor are the contents of the one very different to the other, so it does not seem likely that it was an attempt to subdivide the register. It is possible that the second section (folios 53-62) covering these four years was simply a copy of drafts that had been overlooked at the time of registration and was therefore appended to the end of the register, rather than break up its otherwise rigidly chronological sequence.

To what extent the bishops took an active interest in the compilation of their registers is unknown. Certainly, the registrars would have entered the correspondence arising from routine affairs as a matter of course. Thereafter, they probably took some initiative in the inclusion of less mundane business, and it is likely that the bishops directed them to do so in some instances. At this point it might be asked how much the registers may be regarded as faithful records of diocesan administration. It must be borne in mind that the episcopal register was never intended to be comprehensive or to replace the bishops' archives, but rather was designed to supplement them. Every entry in an episcopal register falls into one of four broad categories: incoming letters, outgoing letters, records of acts, mostly ordinations, and transcripts of documents derived from other sources, such as an entry from a pipe roll or a royal writ addressed to someone other than the bishop (but usually concerning him).[27] Patently, the record-keeper's greatest concern would have been with the registration of outgoing letters, which indeed comprise the vast majority of entries in any episcopal register. The registration of incoming letters was of lesser importance, since the originals were normally preserved in any case. The returnable writ was of course the exception to this rule, though it should be noted that the registrars rarely troubled themselves to enter the bishops' responses, which were endorsed on the writs returned.

In addition, consideration seems to have been given to

whether documents were of long-term or only temporary value, and this factor contributes to the registers' aspect of apparent incompleteness. Thus, many mandates to the various diocesan officers were probably recorded on account of the need for copies of such outgoing correspondence, but the certificates of their actions or findings usually were not.[28] For example, in 1342 Bishop Kirkby ordered the four rural deans to hold inquests into the names of all who had died in the diocese since 1330 and of the executors of their wills, as he believed that he had been defrauded of his testamentary jurisdiction. Although it is evident from other entries in the register that a considerable amount of litigation resulted from their findings, it was not deemed necessary to make registration of the certificates themselves.[29] As valuable as the deans' returns would be for the historian, they were not considered to be of such permanent value that they merited a place in the register. The certificates would have been acted upon as they came in, and notes of the proceedings and outcomes of the resulting prosecutions would have been duly recorded in the bishop's court book, which has not survived.

Of the different classes of outgoing correspondence, the originals of only one, that of the letters of caption or significations of excommunication, preserved in the Public Record Office, have survived in appreciable numbers. It might be expected that a comparison of these originals with the number of significations copied into the registers would allow some conclusions to be drawn as to the thorough-

ness of the registrars, but in fact such an investigation is of dubious worth. A cursory examination is enough to establish that the files of originals are not complete, and there is no way of knowing the extent of the losses. Only two significations of excommunication appear to have been entered in Halton's register, and neither of these is identical with any of the three kept among the public records.[30] Of the seven surviving originals dating from Kirkby's episcopate, two were entered in his register, and there is another of which the original has perished.[31] Only one of the five surviving originals issued by Welton was copied into his register, but six others may be found there that are not in the Public Record Office.[32] The holding of the original letters of caption issued by Appleby appears to be more complete, but his register has incurred such extensive losses that it is impossible to tell how many of these may have been recorded in it.[33] If it may nevertheless be gathered that none of the registrars was very diligent in recording letters of caption, it would be folly to suggest that it follows that they were equally lax about the registration of other classes of material. Significations of excommunication are in fact a good example of the type of document that on the one hand was likely to be entered in an episcopal register as an outgoing letter, but on the other was probably not considered to be of long-term value and was therefore sometimes left out. Moreover, such matters could be more easily traced by the bishops and their

clerks in the court books and other judicial archives.

In contrast, the facility with which the succession of incumbents of benefices may be followed in the registers shows that the registrars were careful to make thorough records of letters of institution and collation and related matters. When they fail to supply the pertinent information, it may usually be accounted for by the gaps between and within the registers.[34] It is not unreasonable to assume that the registrars were just as painstaking over the registration of certain other kinds of outgoing letters, such as licences of non-residence and commissions. However, it is uncertain whether they were as sedulous with mandates to diocesan officers, such as mandates to warn or to denounce excommunicates, since these were usually of short-term importance only, and the returned certificates, quoting the original mandates, could be acted upon and stored for future reference in the episcopal archives, if necessary. Bishops' registers might be described as rich sources from which one must be careful not to expect too much. On the one hand, a great deal of information may be gathered on the beneficed clergy and the workings of diocesan administration. On the other hand, although there is no mean number of entries that may be employed to illustrate church life, such gleanings are in a sense coincidental to the source and should not be used to construct rigidly statistical arguments. This does not, however, detract from the value of the registers. They were after all among other things a systematic attempt to record outgoing correspondence, which

would otherwise surely have been lost and without which our knowledge of the later medieval English church would be much the poorer.

2. Diocesan Administration and Personnel

The fourteenth-century bishops of Carlisle headed what was arguably the most centralised, and probably also the leanest, diocesan administration in England.[35] With the minor exception of the parish of Ravenstonedale, where testamentary jurisdiction was the right of the prior and convent of Watton, the impropriators of the church, there were no peculiars within the boundaries of the diocese to prevent the bishop from exercising his ordinary jurisdiction. Nor did there exist an archidiaconal jurisdiction, common to other dioceses, rivalling that of the bishop, so that his was always the court of first instance. At the same time, on account of the compactness, small number of parishes, and low levels of population of the diocese of Carlisle, the administrative structure remained simple, and there was not the proliferation of officers to be found in other fourteenth-century English dioceses. The successive bishops of Carlisle relied mainly upon their officials and the rural deans to execute their mandates. The archdeacons of Carlisle as dignitaries of the church were naturally figures of some prominence but in the administrative scheme of things were of small importance. In addition, *ad hoc* commissions were not infrequently issued to members of the

episcopal *familia* and the beneficed clergy. It has already been said that there is no evidence for the existence of the office of diocesan chancellor; nor did there develop the offices of sequestrator- or commissary-general.[36] The bishops themselves were nearly always resident in the diocese and for the most part retained control of its affairs firmly in their own hands.[37]

While it is convenient to bifurcate the bishop's office into the separate functions of administrator and judge, both were derived from his fundamental role as pastor. His administrative authority grew out of the responsibility that he bore for the souls within his diocese, and his jurisdiction was based on the pastoral obligation to pacify disputes between subjects and to correct their sins and excesses. It was possible, however, for a later medieval bishop to remove himself entirely from the day-to-day running of his diocese. His administrative duties could be discharged by a vicar-general. His official already had cognisance of most cases brought into the bishop's court, and those cases reserved to or normally dealt with by the bishop could be heard by special commissaries. There remained, of course, those functions that could only be performed by someone in episcopal orders, but a neighbouring or an Irish bishop or, as became increasingly common, a suffragan, usually a mendicant friar consecrated to a see under Moslem domination, could be employed to carry out these tasks.[38] These included the consecration of altars, churches and chapels with their grounds, and the reconciliation of these when

violated; the consecration of portable altars, chalices and patens, holy oil and chrism on Maundy Thursday, and other objects required for the celebration of the sacraments; the benediction of superiors of religious houses; as well as the sacraments of holy orders and confirmation.[39] However, there is no trace of the employment of a suffragan in the diocese of Carlisle between 1292 and 1395, and there is record of the services of a neighbouring bishop being availed of only once. In March 1372, Bishop Appleby, incapacitated by illness, commissioned William Russell, bishop of Sodor and Man to consecrate holy oil and chrism on Maundy Thursday and to confer orders on Easter eve.[40]

Ordinations aside, the bishops' performance of their pontifical functions does not figure largely in the contents of the registers, mainly because these acts did not usually involve the issue of any kind of letters. Records of ordinations, however, were carefully kept due to the bishops' obvious need for reliable lists of men in holy orders. When in fact the Carlisle registers do reveal the bishops engaged in pontifical activities other than ordinations, they are usually instances of their doing so on behalf of other bishops, since the commissions empowering them to act were normally recorded. During their periods of residence in London or at the manors of Horncastle and Melbourne, in the dioceses of Lincoln and Coventry and Lichfield, respectively, the bishops frequently received such commissions from the ordinaries or were approached by someone such as an abbot who had been granted a faculty to receive benediction

from any Catholic bishop.[41] Moreover, Halton performed at least thirteen of his recorded sixty-three ordinations outside of the diocese, and Kirkby at least eighteen of his recorded forty-three. The stay-at-home Bishop Welton, however, held all sixteen of his ordinations within the diocese, while Appleby held only one of his eighty-three recorded ordinations away, on 17 April in London during his tenure as a continual councillor.[42] Much less is known about how frequently the bishops conferred the other sacrament reserved to their order, confirmation. The responsibility for presenting children to be confirmed lay with the parents, and in accordance with the diocesan statutes of 1259 they were required to do so within three years of birth, under pain of suspension from entering a church for three months.[43] Accordingly, when in March 1355, about a month after his daughter's birth, John Eaglesfield chanced to learn that Bishop Welton was in the vicinity, he went to request him to confirm the child.[44] Appleby's mandate to the rural deans in 1379 to cause all parents with children in need of confirmation to be urged to bring them forward in the course of his upcoming visitation probably reflects the more usual manner in which the sacrament was made available.[45]

For clergy and laity alike, episcopal visitation of the diocese was the most manifest expression of the bishop's pastoral authority. On these occasions he inquired into the management and discipline of the religious houses that he was entitled to visit, sought out defects in the fabric

and ministration of parish churches, and investigated the moral conduct of the clergy and their parishioners. By the later middle ages the ideal was held to be triennial visitation by every bishop, while each archdeacon was to make interim, annual visitations of his archdeaconry, but this frequency did not obtain in most dioceses.[46] Unfortunately, the visitation rolls or books of the see of Carlisle have not survived, and the registers do not yield enough information to make a detailed examination of the process possible. Preliminary to the visitation itself, it was customary to send out mandates forewarning the regular clergy of the bishop's intention to visit and to the official or the rural deans to summon the parish clergy and laity to assemble at pre-arranged times and places.[47] When registration was made of them, these premonitory mandates are our usual guide to the bishops' visitorial activities. Although none are to be found in Halton's register, he is known from other entries to have visited on three occasions, and the indirect evidence of his presence in a series of parishes at certain points in his career may be used to detect other possible visitations of the diocese. Halton's first visitation of the cathedral chapter did not take place until 1300, when the prior, Adam Warthwick, was accused of misgovernment and of squandering the convent's revenues.[48] It is not evident whether a visitation of the diocese immediately followed. According to his own statement, the bishop was visiting the deanery of Westmorland in the final two months of 1302, and this may have

been the last stage of his primary visitation, conducted thoroughly at intervals over these two years.[49]

It seems likely that Halton was again visiting his diocese approximately three years later in late 1305 and early 1306. He was at Lowther and Barton, both in the deanery of Westmorland, on 2 and 3 December, respectively, and about two weeks later, on 18 December, he was not far north of there at Kirkoswald in the neighbouring deanery of Cumberland, where he held an ordination. Nothing is known of his whereabouts in the remaining portion of December or the whole of January, but early the next month he appeared in four parishes of the deanery of Allerdale: Isel, Bridekirk, Aspatria, and Bromfield, on 3, 4, 9, and 10 February, respectively.[50] Similarly, his presence in a number of parishes between 1310 and 1313 possibly suggests further visitorial activity, but the evidence is less convincing than for the probable visitation of 1305-6.[51] Thereafter, as Scottish raids on northern England increased in frequency and severity, Halton took to being absent from his diocese for extended periods.[52] However, the bishop made at least one more visitation before his death in 1324. When making a grant of the custody of Lowther vicarage in October 1320, he stated that he was then visiting the diocese, and he can be placed at Morland in the deanery of Westmorland and at Dacre and Great Salkeld in that of Cumberland around that time.[53]

Though there is no indication from the fragmentary register of Bishop Ross, it is probable that he made at

least a formal, primary visitation of the diocese, and the roots of his dispute with Carlisle priory possibly lay in such an occasion.[54] The registers of his successors are much more informative in this respect and show that each of them was conscientious in performing this obligation. Before proceeding further, however, it is important to distinguish between the visitation of religious houses and that of the diocese at large. Even though they were often undertaken contemporaneously, they were always conducted quite separately. When a bishop was visiting the parishes of his diocese he was simply exercising, under special circumstances, his ordinary jurisdiction. On the other hand, his intervention in the affairs of the local religious houses was largely limited to the election of superiors and the occasional visitations, though it should be noted that, if he thought it necessary, the bishop could visit any particular house as frequently as he wished. In the cases of some individual monasteries and of the entire Premonstratensian and Cistercian orders he was excluded altogether.[55] Thus, Premonstratensian Shap and Cistercian Holmcultram were exempt from the jurisdiction of the bishops of Carlisle. Also exempt was the hospital of St Nicholas outside Carlisle on account of its royal foundation, and Bishop Kirkby had to be reminded of this in 1336, when he was intending to visit the hospital.[56] Exempt or non-exempt, all religious houses possessing appropriated churches or recipient of pensions, portions, or tithes from parish churches were subject to the bishop's

visitation of the diocese, along with all rectors, perpetual vicars, and stipendiary priests. A number of laymen were also required to appear from each parish, usually set at four or six in accordance with its size, but in 1336 six, eight, or twelve were ordered to be selected and in 1341, three or four. In addition, known detainers of ecclesiastical goods or property and those with private chapels or oratories were liable to be cited.[57]

While the premonitory mandates found in the episcopal registers inform us of those summoned, they say nothing of the actual course of each visitation, as registration was unfortunately never made of the schedules attached to the individual mandates where were listed the projected dates and places to be visited. Every diocesan visitation, however, invariably began with the canons of the cathedral priory of Carlisle.[58] In other dioceses it seems to have been customary to visit an entire deanery in one church, though primary visitations were probably conducted more thoroughly.[59] However, since the diocese of Carlisle was divided into only four rural deaneries, the bishops could without difficulty travel to a greater number of parishes. It is clear that Halton did so, and the fact that it was necessary to append schedules to the premonitory mandates tends to support the view that his successors did also.

Kirkby's first known diocesan visitation, though, was conducted entirely in the cathedral and but for the presence of laymen appears to have been more synodal in nature. On 2 April 1336 he ordered the prior and canons of Carlisle to

prepare to receive him on 8 May, and the official was ordered to cite the clergy and the chosen laymen of the whole diocese to appear there on the same day. Two years later a follow-up to this visitation was arranged, but on this occasion the clergy alone were summoned. A mandate was sent to the official to cite the clergy of the deanery of Carlisle to appear before the bishop in the cathedral on 19, 20, and 21 October 1338. The clergy of the other three rural deaneries were similarly summoned, but it is not clear whether the bishop intended to visit them in the cathedral or in one of the parish churches of each deanery in turn.[60] In the summer of the following year, 1339, he made a conventional visitation of the diocese in each of the four rural deaneries.[61] Another visitation was planned to commence on 3 December 1341, but in the end Bishop Kirkby decided to cancel it and suspended his visitorial rights for three years in return for the grant of a subsidy from his subjects.[62] Towards the end of this period he scheduled a visitation of Carlisle priory for 8 November 1344, but it is not clear whether he also intended to visit the parishes at that time, since no concurrent mandates to the rural deans were recorded in his register. At any rate, he did send a mandate to the prior and canons of Lanercost some two months later to receive him on 15 February 1345, his only known visitation of that house.[63] It is not certain whether he made another visitation of the diocese before his death in 1352, as his register breaks off at approximately this point.

Bishop Welton appears to have made his primary visitation of the diocese in the spring of 1355, about two years after his provision to the see.[64] This seems to have been rounded off by a visitation of Lanercost priory on 22 May 1356.[65] In the meantime, Pope Innocent VI had issued a bull on 23 August 1355 ordering the bishops of England to visit the non-exempt religious houses and all secular churches in their dioceses in person or by deputy, reserving the procurations, payments due to each bishop in lieu of hospitality, to himself. The individual bulls were not actually received by the bishops until the summer of 1357, and on 13 and 16 March 1358 Welton sent out the usual premonitory mandates. The cathedral priory was to be visited on 9 April, the prior and monks of Wetheral on the following day, the prior and canons of Lanercost on the day after that, and presumably each rural deanery in turn thereafter. On 8 April the bishop commissioned the archdeacon, the official, and Master John Welton to make the visitation in his place.[66] Although the event might have turned into nothing more than a collection of procurations, the opportunity was taken to conduct a visitation in proper form, as is made evident by the commission afterwards issued to Master John Welton to deal with the faults that he and his fellows had found.[67] On 24 October 1360 Bishop Welton scheduled what would have been his last visitation of the cathedral priory for 4 November along with a partial visitation of the diocese in the deaneries of Carlisle and Allerdale, but shortly afterwards he cancelled the pro-

ject.[68]

Because of the gaps in his register, it is not possible to determine the number of Bishop Appleby's visitations. He had apparently completed a visitation of the diocese before 1 August 1365, and he planned to visit the priories of Carlisle and Lanercost on 30 March 1366 and 14 July 1368, respectively.[69] In September 1373 visitations of Carlisle priory on 1 October, of Lanercost priory on 16 October, and of the diocese were arranged.[70] Another visitation of the diocese was proposed to follow that of the cathedral priory on 2 January 1379, but, while the visitation of the cathedral chapter might have taken place, that of the diocese certainly did not, for on 8 May new mandates were sent out to the rural deans as well as to the prior and convent of Lanercost.[71] After this, information is very sketchy. A visitation of the diocese is known to have taken place in 1382.[72] On 24 September 1385 Appleby commissioned the official along with William Strickland and Master John Southwell to visit Carlisle priory in his place on the next day. It is not likely that a general visitation of the diocese was intended to follow, as that of the priory was being undertaken at the special request of the canons themselves.[73] Finally, the bishop is known to have conducted another visitation of the diocese, probably his last, in late 1392.[74]

The Carlisle registers shed little light on visitational procedure, but it probably followed closely the pattern observed in other dioceses. When visiting a religious

house, a bishop customarily delivered a sermon in the chapter house after being formally received in the church.[75] He then put a list of questions concerning the spiritual and temporal welfare of the house to all or some of the members individually. When making his primary visitation of the cathedral priory in 1300, Bishop Halton chose not to examine all of the canons, though the size of the convent was not particularly large.[76] The resulting evidence, known as the *detecta*, was then synthesised into a comprehensive list of shortcomings needing correction, called the *comperta*. Using the *comperta* as a basis, the bishop might draw up a set of injunctions, which the convent was bound to observe. Halton was satisfied in 1300 to warn the wayward prior of Carlisle to reform the abuses with which he had been charged, but at a later date Bishop Kirkby issued formal injunctions to the cathedral chapter and made a follow-up visit at short notice in 1341 to see whether the canons were abiding by them.[77]

Much less is known about how parochial visitations were conducted, but it is likely that then, too, a number of pre-formulated questions was asked of the clergy and lay representatives. In addition, the clergy were liable to produce documentary proof of their orders, institutions to benefices, and licences or dispensations of various kinds, should they have them. Any laymen possessing private chapels or oratories in which mass was regularly celebrated were required to exhibit the licences or indults allowing them. When Kirkby arranged his three-day visitation of the clergy of

the deanery of Carlisle in 1338, his main purpose seems to have been the examination of letters of appropriation and other documents certifying rights and estates.[78] He specified that all religious impropiators of parish churches should appear before him with their letters on the first day, 19 October, all rectors and perpetual vicars on the second, and all stipendiary chaplains on the third. Whether the division of the visitands into such groups was a regular feature of diocesan visitation is uncertain, but when the occasion included the questioning of several dozen laymen, the task would clearly have become unmanageable without the imposition of this kind of logical scheme.

Once the diocesan visitation was concluded, *littere dimissionis*, or letters of dismissal, were sent out to each religious house that had proved its right to the portions, pensions, or appropriated churches that it had in the diocese.[79] Also, the bishop might issue a special commission to the official or other *iuris periti* to correct and punish those whom the visitational process had revealed to be guilty of various failings, crimes, and excesses.[80] These ranged in nature and gravity from the charge of concubinage made against the rector of Thursby following the visitation of 1336, to the detection of the rector of Cliburn's non-residence in 1359, to the failure of the parishioners of Greystoke to maintain their church's nave and bell-tower, which was found in 1382 to have fallen to the ground.[81] Without more detailed records, it is not possible to determine how effective the procedure of

episcopal visitation actually was or what spiritual benefits may have accrued from the bishop's investigations. However, it is clear that the fourteenth-century bishops of Carlisle in the main approached the business responsibly by visiting at regular intervals and travelling to a number of parishes in each deanery, rather than just one, as commonly practised elsewhere.

Resembling diocesan visitation in form and function was the synod, which was something like episcopal visitation of the clergy in reverse. Of venerable antiquity, its business before the thirteenth century was mainly judicial and administrative.[82] In the half century or so following the fourth Lateran council the synod took on a new vibrancy as a vehicle for the dissemination of reforming decrees in the form of synodal statutes.[83] Bishop Robert Chause, who before his promotion to the see of Carlisle in 1257 had been archdeacon of Bath, brought with him a set of recently promulgated statutes of the diocese of Bath and Wells and before the end of 1259 enacted them in the synod of Carlisle.[84] They seem to have been the only statutes legislated in this way for the diocese, though the few additions to the originals brought from Bath may have been decreed in later synods. By the second half of the fourteenth century it was necessary to make a new copy, which alone has survived and is now bound between the registers of Bishops Welton and Appleby. Two annual synods celebrated around Easter and Michaelmas was the custom at Carlisle, but in 1354 and 1362 the latter synod was held somewhat later,

after the feast of St Luke, which falls on 18 October.[85] Those liable to attend the synod were all beneficed clergy as well as religious impropriators of parish churches, but on occasion the bishop was well within his power to summon more generally.[86] For the extra-diocesan religious houses possessing appropriated churches subject to the see of Carlisle, the obligation to attend the twice-yearly synods as corporate rectors of those churches was burdensome and probably not infrequently disregarded. In 1335, Bishop Kirkby issued mandates to the rural deans of Cumberland, Allerdale, and Westmorland to cite the 'rectors' of ten such churches to answer for their absence from recent synods. They were none other than the abbey of Calder and St Mary's, York, the priories of Hexham, Warter, Conishead, Watton, and the nunnery of Rosedale.[87] It can only be assumed that the monks of Whitby and Fountains, and the canons of Guisborough, who also held appropriated churches in the diocese, had not been so remiss.

Professor Haines has argued that in the fourteenth-century diocese of Worcester the synod met only infrequently, that its functions had been superseded by more efficient administrative and judicial systems, and that the legislative need was met by the occasional issue of generally binding episcopal mandates.[88] However, Mrs Owen has shown that the synod enjoyed a healthy existence in the diocese of Ely throughout the later middle ages and elsewhere has pointed out that synods were not unknown in the expansive diocese of Lincoln, where the problem of gather-

ing all of the clergy in one place was circumvented by the delegation of synods to the archdeacons locally.[89]

Whether the synod was held in the diocese of Carlisle each spring and autumn as prescribed or even once a year is impossible to tell, but the indications are that it certainly did not fall into desuetude in the fourteenth century and probably met regularly enough. For the very reasons stated by Haines, much more of a moot point is whether the assembly was of any real value, but even for the thirteenth century, when it was a fairly vigorous institution throughout England, information on what transpired at the ordinary synod is pathetically slight.

It is probable that in the first two decades of the fourteenth century, when a reduction of the valuation of churches in the northern province was being sought, synods were vitally important to the beneficed clergy.[90] However, Kirkby apparently lacked interest in the assembly in 1343, when he committed the celebration of all synods to his official, Master John Stockton, regardless of whether he was to be present in his diocese at the times that they were convened.[91] Welton delegated the holding of synods to others on at least two occasions, in 1354 to the prior of Carlisle and in 1362 to the prior and Master John Welton.[92] On the other hand, it would certainly be too cynical to take the view that the synod meant little more to the bishop than the occasion for the collection of the *senagium*, or synodals, annual contributions due to him and the archdeacon from every parish.[93] The assembly may, in

fact, have retained a strong judicial character at Carlisle. In 1340, the archdeacon, William Kendal, with whom Bishop Kirkby had been intermittently in dispute for several years, had apparently been cited to answer certain charges in the Easter synod, as he incurred excommunication for his contumacy before the official, Master Robert Risindon, to whom the bishop had committed the synod's celebration.[94] Kirkby's general commission of all synods to Stockton in 1343 may have been made in recognition of their judicial importance. Furthermore, even if it did now lack the force and prestige that it had had in the thirteenth century, the synod must have been beneficial to the diocesan clergy as an occasion for interaction between fellows and as a forum for the discussion of common problems.

Meetings of the synod also afforded the opportunity for the proclamation of the enactments of provincial councils and convocations, at which the secular clergy of the diocese were normally represented by two proctors. However, in the fourteenth century the latter assembly was convened almost exclusively at the king's behest for the purpose of granting subsidies to the crown, and little indeed that was purely ecclesiastical in nature was transacted at the provincial level.[95] Even in the previous century the archbishops of York, unlike those of Canterbury, nearly never summoned provincial councils for the discussion of ecclesiastical affairs or for the promulgation of provincial statutes.[96] In other respects, too, the northern province was a looser confederation than that of Canterbury,

due in part to the tardiness of the archbishops of York to assert themselves. As papal provision came to be the normal means of filling vacant sees, both archbishops were effectively deprived of their roles in the election process. Nevertheless, every suffragan bishop owed obedience to his metropolitan, and it was on his authority that a new bishop was enthroned in his cathedral, in the northern province by the archdeacon of York.[97] The relationship was spelled out in the oaths taken by Ralph Irton, Halton's immediate predecessor, in 1280 and by Bishop Kirkby in 1332: they pledged in general terms to be loyal to the metropolitan see, to observe the archbishop's statutes and obey his summons, to alienate no possession of the see of Carlisle without first consulting him, and to make annual visits to the church of York.[98] The view taken by Professor Brentano that Irton's profession of obedience, more exacting than that made by Robert of Holy Island, bishop of Durham six years earlier, denotes the see of Carlisle's greater degree of subjection to the metropolitan is misleading.[99] The oath taken by Richard Kellaw in 1311 at the time of his consecration as bishop of Durham was in fact identical to that taken by both Irton and Kirkby and included the demand for the annual *ad limina* visits to York, which Brentano thought in particular signified Carlisle's abject submission.[100] The latter provision, which of course was similar to the general obligation of all bishops to make triennial *ad limina* visits to the holy see, was evidently still built into the oath when Bishop

Appleby took it in 1363, for in November 1366 he appointed two proctors, Richard Appleby and William Strickland, to undertake the visit in his stead.[101]

Nevertheless, metropolitan authority was undermined in the late thirteenth century by the bishop and chapter of Durham's struggle against Archbishop Wickwane's attempts to assert his right to provincial visitation and *sede vacante* administration. The dispute was resolved by way of compromise in 1286: Archbishop Romeyn gave up metropolitan visitation of the see of Durham, and the monks admitted his right to the administration of the diocese during vacancies.[102] No archbishop of York undertook a metropolitan visitation of the diocese of Carlisle, *sede plena*, but in 1325 and 1396 visitations were conducted by the *sede vacante* officials appointed by Archbishops Melton and Arundel.[103]

There is scant record of the vacancy of 1292 in the register of Archbishop Romeyn-- no more than two letters of institution and two grants of the custody of sequestrations.[104] In 1324, within a few days of Halton's death on 1 November, Archbishop Melton's vicar-general Master Robert Riplingham appointed Master John Skerne, rector of Marton to act as *sede vacante* official of Carlisle, and the archbishop confirmed the appointment on 19 November. Melton in addition appointed one of the canons of Carlisle, Brother Alan Frizington, as his penitentiary on 30 November. Skerne was issued a commission to visit the diocese on 31 December, and on 10 April 1325 the correction of all faults detected in the course of his visitation was commit-

ted to him. His commission had been revoked on 11 February, when Melton confirmed the election of William Airmyn, who was soon to be ousted by John XXII's provisor John Ross.[105]

Following Ross' death in 1332 Melton appointed on 11 May the official of Carlisle Master Adam Appleby to act as *sede vacante* official. There is no evidence that another visitation of the diocese was undertaken on this occasion, but on 8 May the archbishop had committed the holding of a synod in Carlisle cathedral to William Wirksworth, rector of Slaidburn. Appleby's commission would have lapsed on 2 July, when Melton confirmed the election of John Kirkby.[106]

There are no records of the administration of the diocese during the vacancies of 1352-3 and 1362-3 caused by the deaths of Bishops Kirkby and Welton, as in the former instance the metropolitan see was also vacant and the *sede vacante* register kept by the dean and chapter of York has disappeared, and in the latter, the suffragan section of the register of Archbishop Thoresby appears to have suffered some losses.[107]

On 8 December 1395, three days after the death of Bishop Appleby, Archbishop Arundel appointed his chancellor Master John Bottisham and Master John Southwell, rector of St Wilfrid's, York, together with two 'insiders', William Strickland and Master John Carlisle, vicar of Torpenhow, to act as his vicars-general in the vacant diocese. From the full account of their acts given in Arundel's register, it is evident that Bottisham in fact took no part in the vacancy

administration, and that Southwell was largely in charge. In January and February 1396 Southwell alone conducted a visitation of the diocese, concerning which some details were entered in Arundel's register. On 19 January he began by visiting the canons of the cathedral priory, who had been forewarned on 31 December. On 25 January the city of Carlisle was visited in the church of St Cuthbert. As rector of the church, the prior of Carlisle appeared in person and proved the priory's right to hold the church. Thomas Overend, parish chaplain of St Cuthbert's and John Colt, parish chaplain of St Mary's appeared as well with their letters of orders, and William, the parish clerk was also examined. Southwell then proceeded to visit each rural deanery in turn: Westmorland on 7 and 8 February in the two parish churches of Appleby, Cumberland on 10 and 11 in the parish church of Penrith, Allerdale on 13 and 14 in the church of Wigton, and finally Carlisle on 16 and 17 once again in St Cuthbert's. The profits of the visitation amounted to £27 15s 10d.[108]

Of no small importance to a bishop at the time of his promotion was the number of benefices that he would have at his disposal to bestow on relatives, members of his household, and appointed officers. In this respect, the bishops of Carlisle faced particular problems. Because the chapter was regular, there were no cathedral canonries and prebends to which their clerks and chaplains could be collated or by means of which livings could be augmented.[109] In most dioceses with monastic cathedrals, the bishops were fortu-

nate enough to have in their gift a number of prebends of collegiate churches, but this was not the case at Carlisle. In neighbouring Durham, where the bishop already had the right of collation to thirty-four rectories and vicarages, the five colleges of Chester le Street, Lanchester, Darlington, Auckland, and Norton provided him with the additional patronage of nearly forty prebends.[110] The standing of the bishop of Carlisle as a patron of ecclesiastical livings paled in comparison.

When John Halton was elected in 1292, the bishopric of Carlisle had within the diocese the patronage of ten rectories, Kirkland, Caldbeck, Cliburn, Musgrave, Ormside, Dalston, Ousby, Clifton, Scaleby, and Nether Denton; and nine perpetual vicarages, Crosthwaite, Torpenhow, St Michael's, Appleby, Penrith, Stanwix, Lazonby, Aspatria, Gilcrux, and Crosby-on-Eden. Of the latter, the bishop was impropriator of only two, Penrith and Crosby-on-Eden, and a third, Stanwix, he held jointly with the prior and canons of Carlisle. The patronage of the remainder had at the time of their appropriation to one religious house or another been reserved to the see. The church of Dalston was appropriated *ad usum* *episcopi* in 1301, and when appropriations were made of the church of Bromfield to St Mary's, York in 1303 and that of Wigton to Holmcultram in 1334, the patronage of the newly ordained vicarages was reserved to the bishop. Also, in accordance with a certain composition made earlier in the thirteenth century, the canons of Jedburgh abbey, to whom the church of Arthuret

was appropriated, were bound to present the bishop's nominee to the perpetual vicarage, but in times of war the nomination was sent to the king on account of the forfeiture of the abbot and convent. Therefore, throughout most of the fourteenth century the bishops had in their gift twenty-one benefices in the diocese, of which nine were rectories and twelve perpetual vicarages, as well as the right to nominate the vicar of Arthuret.[111]

In addition, the advowsons of a certain number of livings situated in other dioceses belonged to the see of Carlisle. In the diocese of Durham there were the vicarages of St Nicholas', Newcastle and Newburn, both appropriated to the bishop, the vicarage of Warkworth, appropriated to Carlisle priory, and the rectory of Rothbury.[112] In the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield there was the vicarage of Melbourne, of which the bishop was impropriator, and in the diocese of Lincoln there were the church of Horncastle and two of its former chapelries, Moorby and Mareham-le-Fen.[113] Of these, the churches of Horncastle and Rothbury were of great value, assessed in 1291 at £77 and £133 6s 8d, respectively, but Rothbury's location on the frontline of Scottish attacks on Northumberland diminished the church's revenues, and in 1343 Master Simon Islip, the incumbent of Horncastle successfully petitioned the pope for a reduction of the valuation of his church to 50 marks.[114] Nevertheless, as episcopal income was also reduced by border warfare, efforts were made for the appropriation of the two churches to the see.

As early as 20 March 1305 the king conceded his licence to appropriate the church of Rothbury.[115] For no obvious reason, however, the appropriation was not effected at that time; perhaps the process was obstructed by the archbishop of York or the bishop of Durham. New licences were issued on 24 June 1314, 18 June 1334, and 6 September 1380, but the business was never successfully concluded.[116]

The process for the appropriation of Horncastle was complicated by the church's location not only in another diocese, but in another province. On 20 November 1313, Bishop Halton appointed a clerk of the diocese of Lincoln, Master Ranulph Horncastle, to act as his proctor at the holy see. The purpose of the mission was not given in his proxy, but its nature is made apparent by the issue on the same day of letters to Master Pedro de Galicia, rector of Horncastle and a papal chaplain, requesting him to try to win Clement V's approval of the project.[117] The king's licence for the appropriation of the church was obtained on 3 October 1314.[118] However, the pope had died in the meantime, and not until the autumn of 1316 was a successor, John XXII, finally elected.[119] Halton had begun his efforts anew by September 1318, when Master William Melbourne was appointed to act as his proctor at the *curia*. About the same time the king wrote to the pope endorsing the scheme, and the bishop wrote his own letters on the matter to the pope and to Cardinal Luca Fieschi, with whom he had probably become acquainted during the cardinal's mission to England a year before.[120] Nonetheless, John XXII was

reluctant to appropriate the church of Horncastle outright to the bishop and on 6 December 1318 issued letters allowing him to hold the church only so long as Scottish incursions continued.[121] For all that, neither Halton nor his successor was able to take advantage of even this modest grant, for Pedro de Galicia retained the rectory until 1334, when he exchanged it for the church of Caldbeck.[122] By that time Bishop Kirkby had re-initiated the process at the papal *curia*. A new licence was obtained for the appropriation of the church on 23 October 1334.[123] In early November the bishop's proctors Masters Robert Askby and Hugh Seton were sent to the archbishop of Canterbury, and at least Askby then travelled on to Avignon. Kirkby wrote to him there on 18 January 1335 in reply to a message received on 10 December, asking the bishop to secure letters from the king to the pope in support of the proposed appropriation. He assured his proctor that even though he had heretofore been unable to obtain the royal letters on account of the king's preoccupation with the war, he would persevere, and he moreover expressed his grave disquiet on hearing the rumour that the pope was dead. With the aid of the bishop of Durham, the king's letters were indeed procured a short time later, but they had to be renewed when news of the election of Benedict XII in succession to the deceased John XXII reached England.[124] The new pope evidently proved to be no more willing to authorise the appropriation than had been his predecessor, and there the matter stood.

As small as was the number of livings in the gift of the bishops of Carlisle, they, like other bishops, were sometimes deprived of the enjoyment of their ecclesiastical patronage by the exercise of both royal and papal rights over benefices. In the first place, when a new bishop took over the administration of his diocese, he could not hope to have the disposal of any benefices that had fallen vacant during the vacancy of the see, as ecclesiastical patronage was regarded as belonging to the temporalities of the bishopric and had thus reverted to the king.[125] Although the institutions of royal presentees to these benefices during vacancies of the see formed only a small proportion of the whole, they nevertheless represented a loss of patronage to each bishop at the outset of his episcopate, when, presumably, he wished to provide for his *familiars* and bring new men into the administration of the diocese. Only three presentations of this kind were made during the vacancy of 1292, two in 1325, one in 1332, two in 1353, and four in 1363.[126] In addition, the king had the prerogative to nominate one of his clerks to a newly promoted bishop for collation to a benefice when a vacancy occurred and assignment of a pension in the meantime. There is no evidence of such a royal nomination having been made to Bishop Halton, but it is not improbable that his presentation on 15 April 1295 of the king's chancellor John Langton to the church of Horncastle had been prompted in this way.[127] A writ sent to Bishop Kirkby on 12 September 1332 naming Philip de la Mare was copied into the

register, but he does not appear to have received any preferment from the bishop, though he probably was granted a pension.[128] Later, Edward III simply presented the clerks of his choice to vacant livings that he thought were suitable. Thus, on 16 June 1359 he presented John Soulby to the church of Musgrave and on 3 August 1367 John Rouceby to the church of Horncastle.[129]

Potentially much more disruptive to the exercise of episcopal patronage was the pope's power of provision.[130]

The fourteenth-century bishops of Carlisle were in fact rarely troubled by papal provisors, but with so few livings theirs to give, and nearly two-thirds of those perpetual vicarages, any intrusion at all was received with resentment, and most of the provisions to benefices in the bishop's gift were unsuccessful.[131] Worries over the meagerness of his ecclesiastical patronage underlay a letter sent by Bishop Appleby to Cardinal Langham in July 1375, asking him to use his influence with Gregory XI to obtain a special indult. The bishop explained that his diocese had long been subjected both to war and to ill-kept truces, so that the *iuris periti* he needed were in short supply, and he therefore wished the pope to allow him to collate and to present to those livings of which he was patron without interference, to create notaries public, and to dispense perpetual vicars, of whom continual residence was required, to be absent from their cures to study.[132] There is no evidence that the pope responded favourably to the request or that he even entertained it.[133]

In the first quarter of the fourteenth century papal provisors were all but unknown in the diocese of Carlisle.[134] There were not even any provisions there following the publication in 1317 of John XXII's constitution *Execrabilis*, by which he revoked all dispensations for plurality, except those of cardinals, and required the resignation of incompatible benefices, the patronage of which he reserved to himself.[135] However, two rectors of Horncastle, Bertrand de Andirano, who resigned the church in or before 1312, and Master Pedro de Galicia, who succeeded him, were probably provisors.[136] In fact, the only successful presentations made to that church by the bishops of Carlisle during the rest of the century appear to have been issued on two occasions in compliance with the wishes of the incumbent to exchange his benefice for another. Otherwise, the church was held by a papal provisor or by a clerk who had been presented for one reason or another by the king.[137] The story of the incumbents of the valuable church of Rothbury was similar. When the rector was compelled by *Execrabilis* to resign the church in 1320, Bishop Halton wrote to John XXII asking him to provide one of his chaplains Richard Melbourne, but the pope appears to have given the church to one Rostagnus de Landuno instead. After that, the institution of a presentee of the bishop of Carlisle was a rare occurrence, and, as at Horncastle, the rector had usually been presented by the king or provided by the pope.[138]

The number of provisions to English benefices increased

as the century progressed. Frequently, the candidate, instead of being provided directly to a particular benefice, was granted an expectative grace *in forma pauperum*, a process whereby executors were appointed to provide the 'poor clerk' to a living of appropriate value in the gift of a specific ecclesiastical patron, when one should fall vacant.[139] It is clear that Bishop Kirkby regarded the practice with hostility, and his resistance to the attempts of one 'poor clerk' to make good his provision to Kirkland, a church in the bishop's patronage, resulted in a protracted and bitter quarrel. It is not possible to state with certainty that Kirkby was in the wrong, yet his actions in a parallel case suggest that he might have been. On 12 October 1336 the abbot and convent of St Mary's, York presented John Bowes the younger to the vicarage of Kirkby Stephen, vacant by the death of John Botel. At the subsequent inquest held on 24 October it was stated plainly that although the monks were the true patrons, there was a provisor in the person of one Thomas Redmain. Nevertheless, Kirkby proceeded to institute Bowes on 19 November, and on the last day of that month Bowes granted to Redmain, perhaps at the instigation of the bishop, an annual pension of 20 marks, without doubt in compensation for the failure of his provision. An identical pension of 20 marks had been granted some four weeks earlier, on 4 November, to another provisor, John Skelton, by William Denton, rector of Kirkland.[140] It is noteworthy that in both instances the amount of the pension was equal to the sum usually set in

expectative graces as the maximum value of a benefice with cure that could be provided.[141] However, Skelton would not be bought off in this way, and the episode has the appearance of the bishop's having deliberately disregarded the canonically superior claims of the provisor and having collated his own man.

The difficulties of following the case are exacerbated by the omission of dates from most of the letters relating to it that were copied into the bishop's register. Nonetheless, enough of the correspondence was recorded to make an outline sketch of events possible, and a survival of a few of the cause papers submitted to the court of York illuminate some later developments. Despite Kirkby's efforts, the executors of the grace, the prior of Carlisle, the abbot of Holmcultram, and William Kendal, the archdeacon, were obliged by the pope's mandate to provide Skelton to the church. In late 1336 or early 1337 the bishop appealed to them against the provision, and they agreed to defer execution until the next synod, which should have been held around Easter, falling that year on 20 April.[142] At that time the executors apparently resolved to proceed with the provision, but as the bishop continued to resist they were forced to excommunicate him as well as Sir John Lancaster and William his son, who had somehow become involved. The sentences were revoked on 19 June, and the bishop, intending to take the case to the holy see, was assigned a term lasting until the first court day after Michaelmas within which to lodge his appeal.[143] On 20 August the bishop

sent letters of credence with a special messenger to Masters Andrea and Otto Sapiti, father and son, two proctors resident at the *curia* who handled a lot of business for English clients.[144] It was probably not long afterwards that a judge-delegate was appointed, presumably the prior of Repton, who was certainly acting later the following year.[145]

In any case, by the end of 1337 Skelton had complicated the process by making a tuitory appeal, by which means a party could initiate new proceedings before judgement had been reached. Alleging injustice in the existing court, he was able to appeal directly to the pope and to the court of his metropolitan *pro tuitione*, that is, for protection of his estate and possessions until the case was concluded.[146] When a benefice was involved, the granting of protection in effect assigned the title of the very object in dispute to one of the litigants, and not necessarily the one in actual possession, thus adding a new dimension to the suit. As Skelton had represented himself as the dispossessed rector of Kirkland, the official of York ordered the bishop to restore the church to him. Kirkby was outraged, but a refusal to comply with the official's mandate would warrant his excommunication for contumacy. In a letter probably sent to one of his proctors, the bishop wondered how he was to restore possession of something that 'provisor ille' had never had and asked him to consider carefully ways to counter the move. Kirkby also wrote the archbishop denouncing the actions of his official and sent an envoy to

confer with him.[147] As for the church itself, Denton seems to have retained it, but in the spring of 1338, certain laymen, perhaps supporters of John Skelton, forced their way into the church and held it against the bishop for three months and more, so that he had to sue out a writ *de vi laica amovenda* in chancery.[148]

At any rate, should the original judge consider the tuitory appeal frivolous, he could disregard it and proceed with the case, and the prior of Repton as judge-delegate did just that. He issued an inhibition to the archbishop, his official, and his ministers against examining or determining Skelton's appeal under pain of ecclesiastical censure. Under these circumstances the bishop could continue to refuse Skelton admission to the church without peril to his soul. Despite the inhibition, the official of York did not cease acting in the dispute and furthermore brought the competence of the judge-delegate into question by obtaining his excommunication on, as the prior maintained, the trumped-up charge of non-payment of 2 1/2d in procurations due to the papal nuncios. By the autumn of 1338 Archbishop Melton had asked Kirkby to intercede with the prior for the revocation of his inhibition, but he consented only to remove the threat of censure insofar as the archbishop and his ministers were affected, while maintaining the penalty for both the official and John Skelton until the former had stopped his interference and the excommunication of the prior had been lifted.[149]

There is a lack of evidence at this juncture, but it

appears that the entire process came to a halt. In the summer of 1341 the church of Kirkland was again attacked, and the intruders evicted William Denton's wounded proctor, Robert Blenkarn.[150] Nevertheless, in that same year or in early 1342, the pope newly delegated the hearing of the case to the prior of Durham and the archdeacons of Durham and Northumberland, or any two of them. John Skelton once again lodged a tuitory appeal at the court of York, and then set out for Avignon in person to present his case. After receiving a citation to appear before the new judges-delegate, Skelton's proctor John Monkgate on 16 March 1342 procured from the official of York an inhibition against their taking further action, and moreover, Bishop Kirkby was summoned to appear in York on 13 April. On that day W. Debendale, the bishop's proctor, argued against the validity of the appeal. Skelton, he maintained, had been excommunicated by the bishop some time before for his failure to appear to answer the charge of adultery with one Cecily, wife of Ralph Forester of Salkeld, and as an excommunicate could not prosecute an appeal; he had shown no cause for believing that he would not be justly treated by the new judges-delegate; and, with a dose of irony, if he was the true rector of Kirkland, he was absent from his cure without having sought leave from his ordinary. Two witnesses were produced and gave evidence, and the court was adjourned to 16 April and subsequently to 4 May and 1 June.[151]

Patently, by the summer of 1342, after nearly six years of litigation, the dispute over the living of Kirkland,

like so many other ecclesiastical lawsuits of the later middle ages, showed every sign of dragging on interminably. Ultimately, however, Bishop Kirkby backed down and accepted John Skelton as rector of the church. He was certainly in possession by 10 April 1344, when he was conceded letters dimissory, and on 4 June 1345 the bishop dropped his charges against the provisor after being supplicated by Archbishop Zouche and Ralph Neville to do so.[152] William Denton died in 1359 as rector Ousby, another church of episcopal patronage, to which he was probably collated by the bishop after it had become expedient to deprive him of Kirkland.[153] Kirkby's apparent resolve to exclude provisors remained unshaken by this protracted suit, but when he was made aware in 1344 that another expectative grace of provision to a benefice in his gift had been granted by the pope, he was more cautious. On that occasion he secured on 23 July a renunciation of the grace from the 'poor clerk', Hugh Whitelaw of the diocese of Durham, and in return he collated him to the vicarage of Bromfield on 20 August.[154] In this way the bishop safeguarded his episcopal rights and furthermore ensured that the would-be provisor did not obtain one of the livings of greater value.

Kirkby's tenacity in regard to his patronage of benefices is understandable. Because of their poorer value in general and the requirement of continual residence, perpetual vicarages were less suitable as a means of support for the men in the bishop's service than were rectories, and they had the disposal of only nine of these within the

diocese. Their patronage of the five vicarages outside of the diocese was of no use to them in this respect, and it has already been seen that that patronage of the churches of Horncastle and Rothbury was largely lost to them in the fourteenth century. Because of the incomplete evidence, there is no way to measure precisely the turn-over of incumbents, that is, the rate at which vacancies occurred. However, it is clear enough that, as might be expected, this was higher for perpetual vicarages than for rectories and that the more valuable the benefice, the longer incumbencies tended to last.[155] The church of Caldbeck, assessed at £30 in 1291, was served by eight rectors between 1311 and 1381. Of these, four held the church for less than a year each, three having vacated by resignation and one by death, but the other four held it for periods of seven, ten, twenty-one, and twenty-seven years, all but one having retained it until death.[156] From the viewpoint of the bishop as much as of any one of his clerks hoping for preferment, opportunities to exercise patronage could be disappointingly few.

As the record of Welton's acts is apparently complete, an accurate analysis of his patronage can be made. During his nearly ten-year episcopate, he collated twenty-eight times and twice instituted his nominees to the vicarage of Arthuret. Also, taking advantage of his right to collate when the true patron failed to present within six months, he made one collation *per lapsum temporis*. However, of the twenty-eight straightforward collations, one was made of

the rector of a church not in the bishop's patronage exchanging to the vicarage of Torpenhow, six were incumbents of benefices in his patronage exchanging their livings, and in eight cases the bishop transferred an incumbent from one to another benefice in his gift. Moreover, at no time was he able to collate to four of the rectories and four of the vicarages in his patronage.[157] It is small wonder that his successor found it difficult to attract graduates to his service.[158]

The foremost living in the bishop's gift, the archdeaconry of Carlisle, has yet to be considered. It was no benefice in the conventional sense but an office of diocesan importance with attendant duties and rights, as well as being a cathedral dignity, the origins of which lay in the distant past, when bishops resided with the clergy of their cathedrals and relied upon them for support in the various tasks of diocesan administration.[159] The archdeacon's chief function was the supervision of the clergy and parish churches of the territory attached to his office, and as part of that responsibility he was supposed to conduct parochial visitations of his archdeaconry in the years intervening between the bishop's general visitations of the diocese. In addition, he was usually the agent who inducted incumbents into corporal possession of their benefices, but this was a right guaranteed him neither by the *ius commune* nor by any specific local legislation, and he could only perform an induction after having received the bishop's mandate to do so.[160] Carlisle, like Canterbury,

Ely, Rochester, Llandaff, St Asaph, and all Scottish sees barring Glasgow and St Andrews, had a single archdeaconry, so that the archdeacon's cure was coterminous with the diocesan boundaries. There was, however, one essential lacking at Carlisle that was to be found in every other English diocese: the archidiaconal court. Its absence is all the more surprising in light of the fact that after the death of the first bishop in 1156 the see was left vacant for nearly fifty years, when, the archdeacon having taken charge of the administration, it might have been supposed that the office would have acquired wide-ranging judicial competence.[161] Yet in 1302 Bishop Halton stated categorically that *primarie cognitiones* belonged to himself and his official *ab antiquo*. [162]

Perhaps in compensation for this lack, or indeed loss, of jurisdiction, the archdeacon received the third penny of the synodals paid annually by the clergy and of corrections exacted in the rural chapters by the official for minor offences, the cognisance of which would under ordinary circumstances have belonged to him.[163] In addition, he had the right to levy procurations when undertaking a visitation. Master Richard Leith was so rapacious in this respect that he was reprimanded by Pope Nicholas IV in 1291.[164] There is little information on the visitorial activity of the fourteenth-century archdeacons. In 1318 Bishop Halton informed Rigaud d'Assier, then papal collector in England, that the last archdeacon had not been able to make a visitation in safety because of the dangers posed

by the Scots, and he had therefore lost the procurations as part of his revenue.[165] Some years later, Master William Rothbury, who was archdeacon during the episcopate of Gilbert Welton, appears to have been an active visitor. Welton issued premonitory mandates to the rural deans for archidiaconal visitations on 16 April 1356, 28 March 1357, and 12 October 1358.[166] Without the usual jurisdiction, it is difficult to imagine what took place on these occasions. On 20 June 1357 and 2 November 1358 Rothbury was empowered by the bishop to proceed against those who failed to pay procurations, but no mention was made in either of these commissions of the correction of any shortcomings that he may have uncovered.[167] From 1360 the archdeacon was permitted to issue premonitory mandates for visitation on his own authority, as well as to proceed against those delinquent in paying, but again there was no mention of the correction of faults.[168] It would seem that either archidiaconal visitation at Carlisle was no more than an occasion for the collection of procurations, or the archdeacon's findings were judicially dealt with by the bishop or his official.

Besides procurations and the third penny of synodals and chapters, the archdeacon had the revenues of the church of Great Salkeld, which was annexed to his office and was assessed at £12 in 1291.[169] It is not known when this was done, but it probably pre-dated Edward I's enactment of the statute of mortmain in 1279, for no licence to appropriate was entered on any of the patent rolls between that

date and 1323, when the church was certainly held by the archdeacon.[170] Bishop Irton had sought to augment the income of the archdeaconry by appropriating to it a third portion of the church of Dalston, which third was valued at £15 in 1291. However, this arrangement was nullified during the vacancy of the see caused by his death, when the king learned that it had been executed without his licence.[171] Halton did not care later to revive the scheme. Rather, in 1301 he obtained the king's licence to appropriate the church to his table.[172] Thus, the archdeaconry of Carlisle was one of the poorer in England.[173]

Like any other benefice, an archdeaconry was subject to the king's right of presentation during vacancies and to the pope's provisory powers at other times. However, the opportunity for a royal presentation to the archdeaconry of Carlisle never arose in the course of the century, and, though a provision was once made to it, its small value must have made it unattractive to would-be provisors.[174] Halton collated five men to the archdeaconry during his long episcopate. At the time of his election to the see in 1292, the archdeacon was Master Richard Whitby, who with Master Adam Levington, rector of Skelton had been responsible for the new valuation of benefices for the purposes of the crusading tenth imposed by Pope Nicholas IV the previous year.[175] He was certainly still the archdeacon in 1297 and probably died or resigned in 1302, when on 21 November the bishop collated Master Peter Lisle to the vacant archdeaconry. Lisle was a member of an important

northern family and had already achieved some prominence as a churchman. In 1294 he had been instituted rector of South Kilvington in the diocese of York and within three years after that had taken the degree of doctor of canon law. In 1299 he had been collated to the archdeaconry of Coventry, which he probably resigned before 1302, and in 1301 he had been collated to the prebend of Bole in York minster. Lisle probably spent little time within his archdeaconry. He returned to Oxford for further study and by 1310 had incepted as doctor of theology. His links with York evidently remained strong, for in February 1311 the archbishop collated him to the subdeanery, but he was supplanted by a papal provisor, and in any case he died within the year.

Thereafter, Halton chose only local men to collate to the archdeaconry. He apparently heard of Lisle's death after reaching Vienne to attend the general council, and on 26 November 1311 sent letters of collation to Master Gilbert Halton, without doubt a near relation of his, perhaps a nephew. He had long enjoyed the bishop's favour. On 24 September 1304 he had been collated to the church of Ousby, and he obtained the following day a licence of non-residence to study for seven years.[176] On 5 May 1306, after resigning Ousby, he was collated to the valuable church of Kirkland, which he retained until he became archdeacon. On 10 February 1312 the new archdeacon was granted a licence of non-residence to study for an unspecified period, together with letters dimissory, since he was still

only in subdeacon's orders. However, Bishop Halton himself ordained him deacon on 23 December 1312 and priest on 22 December 1313.[177] Whether Master Gilbert actually did return to university to continue his studies is unclear. He resigned the archdeaconry on 12 March 1318 at Pontefract, a principal residence of Thomas, earl of Lancaster, who about that time presented him to the church of Embleton in the diocese of Durham.[178] He was succeeded by Master Thomas Caldbeck, who was collated on 27 June 1318. Bishop Halton had first extended him patronage in 1314, when on 7 June he was given the church of Clifton, and on 23 September 1316 he was collated to the church of Ousby. The two were held in plurality for a time, as he did not resign the less valuable Clifton until late 1317, presumably in accordance with the constitution *Execrabilis*. Caldbeck had either died or resigned the archdeaconry by 26 December 1320, for on that date Master Henry Carlisle was collated. Carlisle had been Caldbeck's predecessor in the church of Clifton, but nothing is known of his preferment from the time that he resigned it in 1314 until his collation to the archdeaconry.

There is no record of Halton's collation of Master William Kendal, but he was certainly in possession of the archdeaconry by 10 April 1322. His case is unusual in that he held no church of the bishop's patronage before his advancement and seems to have remained until then a household clerk: in October 1320 Halton addressed him 'clerico ac familiari nostro'. He held the degree of doctor of

canon law, but it is not certain whether he had incepted by the time of his collation. At any rate, Kendal retained the archdeaconry for at least eighteen years, through the episcopate of John Ross and the first half of that of John Kirkby, and with the latter bishop was involved in the only serious disruption of amicable relations to take place between a medieval archdeacon of Carlisle and his bishop. The first brush between them took place in July 1334, when Kirkby forbade the archdeacon all contact with Alice Culwen, a nun from a prominent local family, under penalty of forfeiting 100 marks, as they were suspected of being sexually involved with one another, and scandal had attacked itself to the relationship. Worse problems followed about two years later.

By the autumn of 1336 Kirkby seems to have deprived Kendal and collated Master William Brisbane, who as archdeacon of Carlisle was called to witness two deeds on 4 and 30 November. The reasons for such a deprivation are not immediately clear, but a letter written to the bishop the following spring by Archbishop Melton reveals the cause of dissension to have been Kendal's part in the execution of a certain papal mandate for a provision. This is almost certainly in reference to the recent expectative grace conceded to John Skelton by Benedict XII, of which the archdeacon, the prior of Carlisle, and the abbot of Holmcultram were the appointed executors.[179] The archbishop urged Kirkby for the good of the church to put his disaffection for Kendal behind him, and indeed he was

once again in possession of the archdeaconry from about this time, but the bishop continued to persecute him.

In fact, Kirkby's behaviour towards the archdeacon can only be described as vindictive, as he set about stripping his office of nearly every one of its few rights and possessions. In the summer of 1337 Kendal was cited to appear before the bishop or his commissaries in the cathedral on the first court day following Lammas to show by what authority he held both the archdeaconry and the church of Great Salkeld. About the same time the bishop delegated the hearing of the case to his official Master Robert Suthaik and Thomas Dalston, vicar of Crosby-on-Eden.[180] Moreover, since at least November 1336 Kirkby was no longer directing mandates for induction to the archdeacon, and he had also begun withholding the third penny of synodals and chapters.[181] Kendal lodged a tuitory appeal, and on 25 June the official of York ordered the bishop to stop interfering with these rights.[182] There is no sign that Kirkby actually complied with the official's mandate, and, as a matter of fact, he continued to send mandates for induction to others, usually the rural deans, until early 1343, by which time he was probably rid of Kendal.[183]

In a letter sent to the archbishop, remarkable for its distortion of the truth, Kirkby represented himself as the wronged party, only defending his rights against an archdeacon who was holding two benefices in plurality and usurping episcopal jurisdiction, as well as piling up

citations, inhibitions, and appeals against the bishop in the face of his willingness to make peace.[184] Taking this letter at its face value, the local historian James Wilson believed the central issue to have been the archdeacon's lack of jurisdiction, but it seems inconceivable that Kendal, after holding the archdeaconry for some fifteen years, should suddenly challenge the *status quo* and attempt to exercise judicial authority. Rather, nothing more than personal animosity would seem to have been the root cause of the dispute.[185] Little more can be gathered about the proceedings from Kirkby's register. Towards the end of 1337 an unknown correspondent asked the bishop to agree to a truce until Purification, as both parties were incurring pointless expenses and the cause was becoming wearying and injurious.[186] A respite of longer duration may well have taken place, but dissension had been revived by the spring of 1340, when the hearing of all pleas against Kendal was delegated to Masters Robert Suthaik and John Appleby, and Richard, vicar of Brampton. A short time later the archdeacon was excommunicated for his contumacy before these commissaries in the Easter synod.[187]

After 1340 William Kendal fades from view, and the succession of archdeacons becomes confused. Whether Kendal was at last successfully deprived or hounded from office, or whether he simply died is not known.[188] At any rate, Kirkby sometime after 1340 apparently collated Master William Brisbane, whom he had earlier tried to intrude into

the archdeaconry, for Pope Clement VI provided a certain William de Savinhaco on 7 May 1350, following Brisbane's death. John Marshal had, however, been in possession since at least 11 April 1350, so it is unlikely that Bishop Kirkby would have admitted the provisor. The next certain archdeacon was Master William Rothbury, who occupied from at least 11 June 1355 until his death between 10 and 18 May 1364. During his incumbency Bishop Welton issued two formal declarations of the archdeacon's rights in May 1360, thereby insuring against the occurrence of another bitter dispute. His right to the third penny of synodals and chapters was recognised; he was permitted a clerk to represent him in the chapters celebrated by the official and the rural deans, which clerk was to have a voice in the making of corrections by the official and the bishop's ministers and was to be allowed his own counter-roll, or record of corrections; and, as has already been seen, thenceforward the archdeacon was to be able to summon those subject to his visitation by his own letters and to proceed on his own authority against those culpable of non-appearance and non-payment of procurations.[189]

After Rothbury's death Bishop Appleby collated his brother Master John Appleby to the archdeaconry on 18 May 1364. Appleby had benefited by episcopal patronage long before his brother's promotion to the see. He had been given the church of Ormside by Bishop Kirkby in or before September 1352, and he retained it until April 1362, when as presentee of Ranulph, Lord Dacre he was instituted to

the rectory of Kirkoswald. In addition, he held from 1353 the wardenship of St Edmund's hospital, Gateshead and from at least 1363 a canonry and prebend of the collegiate church of Norton, both in the diocese of Durham. In 1367 Bishop Appleby presented him to the church of Horncastle, but a royal presentee was instituted instead.[190] On 24 September 1379 he was collated by the bishop to the church of Caldbeck, and, about a month later, on 21 October, he resigned the archdeaconry. His death followed on 1 October 1380.[191] Thomas Felton's occupancy of the archdeaconry as given in the 1379 poll-tax accounts of the diocese is highly suspect, as for no apparent reason many of the names listed are fictitious, and the name Felton, like those of Frost, Eston, and North, was employed several times. Finally, Thomas Carlisle was archdeacon in 1391, but remarkably little else is known about his career.

For all the prestige enjoyed by the archdeacon of Carlisle, he played only a minor part in diocesan administration, and due to his lack of jurisdiction, he had virtually no impact on church life. Rather, it was the bishop's official who had the key role in the running of the church, and whom the clergy and to some extent the laity would have better known and perhaps feared. His major responsibility was, of course, to preside in the consistory court, but on account of the numerous commissions directed to him he was more generally involved in local ecclesiastical affairs.[192] Also, to him were normally entrusted for execution writs of summons to

parliament, as were all kinds of other royal writs, as well as mandates from the metropolitan summoning convocation.[193] The like task of summoning the clergy to synods was included by Bishop Halton in his commission of the officiality to Master Adam Appleby in 1314, and it is probable that this was normally one of the official's duties, for no mandates calling synods may be found in the episcopal registers.[194] In addition, the official performed two functions that were usually undertaken by the archdeacon or the archdeacon's official in other dioceses. It has already been seen that the official of Carlisle held chapters, the celebration of which elsewhere pertained to the archdeacon, and in them exercised the kind of archidiaconal jurisdiction over minor offences found in other diocese.[195] Moreover, mandates to hold inquests into the vacancies of rectories and vicarages were nearly always sent to the official, and never to the archdeacon.[196]

An important distinction to be drawn between the archdeaconry and the officiality, and, for that matter, all other offices conferred by the bishop, is that the former was a benefice and with it went all the rights of tenure accorded incumbents by canon law. Officials, on the other hand, were hired and fired at will. No specific revenues were attached to the office. Rather, a church in the bishop's patronage was usually the official's means of support. The fourteenth-century archdeacons and officials of Carlisle, however, shared similar backgrounds. All were

graduates and by and large men of local origin.[197] In his time Bishop Halton appointed two officials. The first, Master John Bowes, was acting as early as 1294. On 1 June 1294 Halton collated him to the church of Kirklington, the patronage of which had fallen to the bishop by lapse of time. His successor, Master Adam Appleby, was appointed official on 26 November 1311, when Halton was in France attending the council of Vienne. He had been rector of Ousby since his collation on 5 May 1306, and by August 1312 he had been collated to the more valuable church of Caldbeck. Bishop Ross was content to retain him as official, and having outlived him, Appleby was appointed by Archbishop Melton as his *sede vacante* official on 11 May 1332. It is possible that Kirkby kept him on until his death in 1333.[198]

During his episcopate John Kirkby appointed at least three men to the officiality. Master Robert Suthaik was acting by July 1334 and may have been appointed the year before, after Appleby's death. He had long been beneficed in the diocese, having been presented by Carlisle priory on 17 May 1306 to the church of Bewcastle, to which he was instituted sometime before March 1311. Master Robert Risindon was official by 1339, when Kirkby issued him a commission conceding fuller powers. He is known to have held the church of Ormside, but it is not certain when he was collated. Risindon did not long remain in office, for in 1341 Kirkby re-appointed Suthaik. He in turn was sacked within a short time, and Master John Stockton was appointed

in or before 1343, when a commission granting fuller powers, similar to that issued for Risindon in 1339, was directed to him. The bishop had collated him to the church of Musgrave sometime before March 1341. He was apparently no longer official of Carlisle by 1348, when he was acting as vicar-general for the bishop of Durham. It is not known whom Kirkby appointed to succeed him.

Bishop Welton's three known appointees are unusual in that none of them is known to have been beneficed so long as they held office, in which case they must have been salaried. Master Nicholas Whitby obtained his commission on 1 March 1354, but just over a year later, on 10 March 1355, Welton appointed a new official, Master Adam Caldbeck. Neither received a benefice in the bishop's gift, but Caldbeck was later briefly rector of Beaumont, a church in lay patronage.[199] The third official known to have been appointed by Bishop Welton was a probable relative, Master John Welton. There is no record of his commission in the bishop's register, but he was certainly acting by October 1362. Bishop Welton had collated him to the church of Ousby on 14 May 1359, but he seems to have resigned it around 19 May 1360, when he was collated to the vicarage of Crosthwaite. His incumbency there was of short duration, however, as he was certainly no longer vicar by May 1361. He, too, therefore appears to have been unbeneficed during his tenure as official.

Bishop Appleby's brother, Master John Appleby, was official of Carlisle on 28 May 1364, when he was collated

to the archdeaconry. It is not altogether clear that Master John was removed as official at that time. He was never again called by that title, but until as late as August 1374 he received commissions of judicial business of the kind usually delegated by the bishops to their officials.[200] By January 1377 Master William Hall was the acting official, and he remained so until at least August 1379. He had been rector of Bowness since his institution on 22 July 1354, after presentation to the church by Robert le Brun, and he only obtained a benefice in the bishop's patronage in 1381, when he exchanged the church of Bowness for that of Caldbeck. Finally, by a solitary reference Master Adam Bolton is known to have been official by December 1392, towards to end of Thomas Appleby's episcopate. He had been rector of Bolton since at least March 1369 and is never known to have held a benefice of episcopal patronage.

The powers given to the official varied greatly from commission to commission. The committal of the seal of the officiality in itself vested in the appointee core of clearly recognised powers, so that the drawing up of a formal commission was not necessary, unless the bishop wished, as he usually did, to extend greater authority to his official. Thus in 1339 and 1343 Bishop Kirkby issued nearly identical commissions conceding fuller powers to Robert Risindon and John Stockton, respectively, to whom the seal had been transmitted at earlier dates.[201] It is evident from these two commissions that no more than the

hearing and determining of causes in the consistory court and the holding of chapters ordinarily pertained to the office. Powers of inquiry into crimes and excesses, correction and punishment were, however, invariably conceded in the commissions of which we have record.[202] Beyond these rights, Bishop Kirkby gave his officials in 1339 and 1343 the authority to deprive rectors and vicars of their benefices and remove administrators and other *intitulati* and ministers of the bishop's jurisdiction from office, and in 1343 alone delegated the celebration of all synods. Action in lesser capacities might also be mentioned: in 1314 Bishop Halton specifically conceded the admission of wills and the commission of their administration, and in 1341 Kirkby empowered his official to receive and execute mandates from his superiors.

Not all causes came before the official in the consistory court, for there also existed the court of audience, where the bishop in person or his commissaries dealt with the more serious actions and offences. In the absence of judicial records no adequate analysis can be made of the workings of the ecclesiastical courts in the diocese of Carlisle.[203] However, a number of entries in the episcopal registers relating to the bishops' judicial activities may be employed as evidence for the types of causes heard in the court of audience. Of the fifteen known matrimonial causes, ten were heard by the bishop, three by his commissaries, and two by the official probably by commission.[204] The bishop always took cognisance in

cases of clerks who had been convicted of felonies in the secular courts, though admission of the purgation was nearly always committed to the official or others.[205] It seems that the crimes of the beneficed clergy were generally dealt with by the bishops in the court of audience, and in fact Bishop Welton specifically reserved to himself the correction of rectors and vicars when he committed the officiality to Master Adam Caldbeck in 1355.[206] Thus, incumbents found to be absent from their churches without licence were cited to appear before the bishop or his commissaries.[207] Also, the registers reveal that one prior of Carlisle, six incumbents, and three chaplains were cited to answer charges of incontinence.[208] The sexual misconduct of the laity, on the other hand, was usually dealt with by the official in chapters or the consistory court, though adultery, or at least that of prominent subjects, might have been the exception. Such an instance took place in 1296, when Isabel, wife of John Greystoke was summoned, at the instance of her husband, it would seem, to answer the charge of adultery with a certain knight referred to only as M. de L.[209] A number of other grave offences, such as the pollution of churches or churchyards by bloodshed, the misuse or destruction of ecclesiastical property, violence towards persons in holy orders, and the obstruction of the bishop's ministers in the performance of their duties, were likely to cause the citation of their perpetrators before the bishop.[210] Finally, both the bishop and his official

took cognisance of testamentary causes, indicative perhaps that there was no sharp demarcation between their courts in the realm of non-criminal cases.[211]

The consistory court was held in Carlisle, probably in the cathedral, though in 1354 Welton's official, Master Nicholas Whitby, heard the cause of the divorce of Thomas Rokeby and Elizabeth Tilliol at least in part in the parish church of St Cuthbert.[212] The court of audience, however, could be held wherever the bishop happened to be within his diocese. Halton held sessions in the cathedral on two known occasions, as did Kirkby, but the latter preferred the chapel of his principal residence, Rose castle, or the nearby parish church of Dalston. Both Welton and Appleby, almost invariably sat at Rose.[213] Only Welton issued a general commission of causes coming into the audience, both *ex officio* and instance, in January 1355 to his registrar Master William Ragenhill and John Shipton, rector of a mediety of Linton in the diocese of York and a member of his household. However, the number of wills proved before him - at least eighty-six - is alone enough to give the impression that they rarely acted in his stead.[214]

The registers give nothing more than an inkling of the identities of others operating in the ecclesiastical courts of the diocese and no indication at all of their numbers. Frequently, the rural deans were called upon to serve themselves or to cause others to serve the citations requiring appearances in court.[215] However, there also

existed an officer of the courts, the apparitor, whose very job it was to serve summonses. Bishop Halton seems to have had one who acted throughout the entire diocese, but during the episcopates of Welton and Appleby it is clear that each deanery had its own apparitor.[216] They remain shadowy figures, and because of the discretion allowed them in citing any moral offenders that they might come across, they were in general bitterly detested by the people of every diocese.[217] It is not therefore surprising that our only knowledge of the existence of the office at Carlisle in the second half of the century comes by the fact that in 1359 William Candryman, apparitor in the deanery of Carlisle, and in 1371 or 1372 John Alanson, apparitor in the deanery of Cumberland, were attacked and wounded. Once involved in a suit before an ecclesiastical judge, a party might find it advantageous to seek the services of a proctor, but the names of very few working in Carlisle are known. A certain Master Robert Blencow acted as proctor in two matrimonial causes during Halton's episcopate.[218] In 1340 John Wilton and Thomas Dalston were the proctors of Thomas Lengleys and Alice his wife, respectively, in a divorce suit.[219] Aside from the proctors who might be representing the various parties engaged in a dispute or answering charges, a number of *juris periti* were likely to be in the court. In October 1365 Bishop Appleby arrived at his decision in the cause of the divorce of John Wetherhird of Threlkeld and Margot Grisedale 'de consilio iuris peritorum nobiscum

assedentium'.[220] The *juris periti* Masters Adam Caldbeck and Walter Helton no doubt played the same role in a like cause heard by the official in 1354.[221]

Such were the men to whom the bishops occasionally committed the hearing of specific cases, sometimes together with the official. Thus in 1331 Bishop Ross empowered the official, Master Adam Appleby, and Robert Askby, his clerk to proceed against the prior of Carlisle.[222] The self same prior, John Kirkby, after becoming bishop, several times delegated causes to his former *confrater*, Brother William Hurworth.[223] Others to whom he committed cases were Master Robert Suthaik, outside of his two tenures as official, Robert Farving, rector of Hutton, Thomas Dalston, vicar of Crosby, Robert Boiville, rector of Thursby, Richard, vicar of Brampton, and Masters Richard Risindon and John Appleby.[224] Bishop Welton on at least three occasions issued commissions of the cognisance of specific cases to Master John Welton, once in conjunction with Master Nicholas Whitby, the official, once with Master William Rothbury, the archdeacon, and once alone.[225] John Horncastle, prior of Carlisle and Master Adam Caldbeck acted together on two occasions, one by commission of Bishop Welton and the other by commission of Bishop Appleby.[226] Appleby conceded wide judicial powers in 1372 and 1374 to his brother the archdeacon and John Fenrith, a canon of Carlisle who held the vicarage of Castle Sowerby, to inquire into the crimes and excesses of rectors, vicars, and chaplains, to correct and punish them,

and to enjoin penances. The archdeacon was presumably still acting on the authority of these commissions in the summer of 1375, when he absolved the rector of Musgrave from the sentence of excommunication that he had incurred for contumacy.[227]

Excommunication was the only real weapon the church had to use against recalcitrant offenders.[228] In itself, a sentence of excommunication posed no serious threat to the hard-of-heart, but if an excommunicate remained obdurate for more than forty days, his bishop could invoke secular aid by sending a signification of excommunication with the requisite facts to the royal chancery. A writ *de excommunicato capiendo* would then be issued to the sheriff of the appropriate county, and following capture the excommunicate suffered imprisonment until he sought and obtained absolution from the sentence. When sin was involved, sacramental absolution was usually given separately.[229] The significations issued by the bishops of Carlisle that have been copied into their registers or preserved in the Public Record Office reveal that in the majority of cases when secular aid was invoked - all but one - excommunication had been incurred for contumacy, the refusal of a duly cited person to appear before an ecclesiastical judge or to comply with his just mandates.[230] There were in addition a number of ways to incur excommunication *ipso facto*, in most cases by committing a particular sin from which absolution was reserved to the pope or to the bishop by law. Thus in 1341

a certain W.R., having fallen under the sentence of excommunication for causing the pollution of the churchyard of his parish church with bloodshed, travelled to Melbourne, where Bishop Kirkby was staying, to be absolved.[231]

Like the pope, it was customary for each bishop to appoint one or more penitentiaries, who were empowered to hear confessions and to absolve in reserved cases, thereby facilitating reconciliation for penitents. Usually several sins were excepted in the commissions, but Bishop Ross did not do so when he appointed William Otterington, vicar of Bromfield and Robert Bradwood, vicar of St Michael's, Appleby on 30 December 1331.[232] Bishop Kirkby issued two commissions in January 1335 to William Hurworth, the same canon of Carlisle to whom he sometimes delegated the hearing of suits. In the first, he likewise made no exceptions, but in the second, cases of incest, defilement of nuns, and perjury were to be dealt with by him alone.[233] From 1345 mendicants were favoured. In the summer of that year Kirkby appointed a Dominican, John Carlisle, as his penitentiary in the deanery of Westmorland. Later the same year he appointed Brother William Deyncourt, probably a Carmelite of Appleby or an Austin friar of Penrith, as his penitentiary in the deaneries of Westmorland and Cumberland, and Brother John Levington, a Franciscan of Carlisle, in the deaneries of Carlisle and Allerdale.[234] On 3 March 1354 Bishop Welton appointed a member of the Dominican convent of Carlisle, Robert

Deyncourt, who held the degree of doctor of theology, and the unnamed lector of the Franciscan convent in the city. His list of excepted cases was both longer and more precisely stated than Kirkby's: violation of the rights and liberties of the see and of the cathedral church; rape of or fornication with nuns; perjury in assizes and indictments, matrimonial and divorce cases, and when disinheritance, the loss of life or limb, or the loss of the greater part of a person's means was the result; and usury.[235] No substantial changes were made in future commissions. In March 1357 Welton appointed Master William Salkeld, rector of a mediety of Aikton for one year only.[236] Only one commission of a penitentiary, that of Thomas Thornton, an Austin friar of Penrith, can be found in Appleby's register, but from another entry it is known that in February 1378 a canon of Carlisle, Thomas Warthole, was acting.[237] Welton at least made special appointments for the Lenten season, just as he usually issued commissions to the prior of Carlisle to receive penitents in the cathedral on Ash Wednesday and Maundy Thursday.[238] In 1356 licences to hear confessions of reserved cases, with the usual exceptions, until Easter were conceded to William Dacre, lector of the Franciscans of Carlisle, and, of their parishioners alone, to the vicar of Penrith and the rector of Uldale.[239]

A penitentiary's commission was, of course, most important when the bishop was absent from the diocese. At such times charge of diocesan administration was often

committed to a vicar-general. However, the fourteenth-century bishops of Carlisle were so consistently resident that it was rarely necessary to appoint one.[240] During the short periods that he was away from the diocese, Halton apparently did not think it necessary to create a vicariate-general, but when he was attending the council of Vienne in 1311-12 and for the two extended periods of July 1314 to approximately October 1316 and December 1322 to approximately June 1324, when he feared to reside on account of Scottish raids, vicars-general were appointed. On the first occasion the prior of Carlisle and William Gosforth, rector of Ormside together were employed; on the next two he sensibly appointed his official, Master Adam Appleby. Ross was the least resident of the five bishops, but his fragmentary register contains no commission for a vicar-general. Master Thomas Halton was acting as Bishop Kirkby's vicar-general in January 1336. No other appointments by that bishop are known. At the very beginning of his episcopate, on 10 July 1353 at York Welton appointed Robert Suthaik, abbot of Holmcultram, who indeed had been the vicar-general of John Horncastle, whose election was superseded by Welton's provision. In the same way, Appleby appointed the prior of Carlisle, his brother Master John Appleby, then rector of Kirkoswald, and Master Adam Caldbeck as his vicars-general on 13 August 1363, when he was at York on his way back from Avignon. During the year that Appleby was a member of the continual council his official, Master William Hall was vicar-general. Hall was

again acting in the autumn and winter and 1380-1, the only other time Appleby is known to have left the administration in the hands of a vicar-general.

The four rural deans of Carlisle, Allerdale, Cumberland, and Westmorland had indispensable roles in the running of the church within their localities and have already been noticed at several points in the discussion above.[241] They assisted the official in the celebration of chapters and no doubt in the inquests into vacancies, at which on a few occasions they alone presided.[242] To them were usually directed the premonitory mandates to inform the clergy and laity of an impending visitation.[243] Mandates to cite were often sent to them.[244] Also, they frequently received mandates to warn and mandates to publish sentences of excommunication.[245] Moreover, they seem to have been the officers who normally had charge of the sequestration of vacant benefices, and they accounted for other forms of spiritual revenue.[246] As important as they obviously were, it is unfortunate that more is not known of the deans individually, their activities, or the method of their appointments. Elsewhere rural deans were usually elected by their fellow rectors and vicars in the rural chapter or at a synod to serve for a period of one year. In October 1355 Bishop Welton himself appointed the vicar of Penrith dean of Cumberland, but it cannot be stated on the strength of this that deans were chosen by the bishops.[247] Rather, as it is the only appointment of its kind in the registers, it is more probable that it was

made under special circumstances and that the deans were elected by their fellows, as in other dioceses.

For all the information that the episcopal registers impart on the administrative structure and workings of the church, the task of making an assessment of the bishops of Carlisle as diocesans and pastors is not made much easier. Too much in absence are evidences of their personal touch, their special concerns, their ability to lead, and how they were perceived by their subjects. Of the five episcopal registers, only that of Bishop Kirkby reveals more about the man than his involvement in routine affairs, and he seems to have been a fearsome creature, every bit as formidable an opponent in an ecclesiastical dispute as he was in battle with the Scots. Little can be discerned about the characters of the others. To their credit, Halton, Kirkby, and especially Welton and Appleby were nearly constantly resident in their see. Moreover, they were conscientious visitors of the diocese, conducting full visitations at regular intervals and apparently not content to visit but one church in each deanery. On the other hand, a good record for residence and visitation does not necessarily mean good governance. Too many factors remain unknown, such as the calibre, honesty, and dependability of the men whom the bishops appointed to posts of responsibility. Nevertheless, one can get the feeling by looking through Welton's and Appleby's registers that they worked at being good bishops. They could both be found often enough hearing causes in their court of audience, and

Appleby seems to have been concerned with the reform of his clergy. Many of these questions would be cleared up, had records of visitations and synods survived. What is apparent is that in its simplicity the bishops headed a potentially very efficient administrative system. The archdeacon's lack of jurisdiction eliminated at Carlisle a tier of government that had by the fourteenth century become outmoded and unnecessary. Archidiaconal functions remained, but the important point is that they were performed in the bishop's name by his own official, over whom he had much greater control. Together with the fact that no jurisdiction peculiars existed in the diocese, this allowed for much greater episcopal control of affairs.

3. Recruitment of the Clergy[248]

There were several possibilities open to a man entering the secular clergy in the later middle ages. Among these were careers as a royal, papal, or episcopal servant, as a teacher or scholar, or as the rector or vicar of a parish church. If he did not set his hopes high, he could join the ranks of the chaplains of his diocese, helping the incumbents of the parish churches with the administration of their benefices and with the cure of souls, serving chapels and perpetual chantries, and serving oratories in noble and gentry households. Whatever his ambitions and aspirations, however, the secular priest's situation depended entirely upon the charity and good will of those

in a position to exercise patronage: family and friends, the beneficed clergy, the bishop and his *familia*, and the established, landed families of the area. And whether the possibilities became opportunities in the form of the patronage desired depended to a large extent upon the social position of the priest's family, the proper connections, and the extent of his education. These were the realities faced universally by the clergy of the universal church, but each region had its own particular system of patronage, varying with the needs and structure of society. The lives and success of the clergy of the diocese of Carlisle, despite the mission and aims held in common with the clergy of the entire church, were dictated to a degree by the rural nature of the diocese and its location on the Anglo-Scottish border.

The number of clergy required to staff the diocese was not inconsiderable. Including the cathedral, the nave of which served as the parish church of St Mary, there were ninety-four parishes in the diocese of Carlisle. By 1291, twenty-six of the ninety-four churches were appropriated to either the bishop or a religious house. By the end of the fourteenth century the number had risen to fifty-one, nearly all on the pretext of the losses incurred as a result of the war.[249] Seventeen of the appropriated churches seem never to have had perpetual vicarages ordained and were probably served by chaplains or regular canons, as was normally the case in seven of the appropriated churches with perpetual vicarages. The

churches of Aikton and Kirkbampton were divided into medieties and therefore each had two rectors and the church of Arthuret, technically appropriated to Jedburgh abbey, had for a time both a rector and a perpetual vicar. Therefore, throughout most of the century, forty-six rectories and thirty-four perpetual vicarages existed. Most churches, at least the eighty rectories and vicarages, seem to have had at least one chaplain or 'parish priest', and at least twenty outlying chapels were in existence in the fourteenth century.[250] Chantries not being considered, a conservative estimate of the number of priests needed to administer the sacraments in the parish churches and chapels is nearly two hundred. This is a figure not far off the totals rendered by the poll-taxes of 1377 and 1379, both of which would appear to be underestimations. The 1377 poll-tax gives account of two hundred and thirty-two beneficed and unbeneficed clergy but includes some fifty religious among those beneficed, bringing the number down to about one hundred and eighty-two.[251] The account of 1379 lists seventy-seven incumbents of benefices and ninety-nine chaplains, making a total of one hundred seventy-six.[252] In fact, however, the number of secular priests in the diocese was clearly more than this.

It is no easy matter to establish the number of the clergy in the diocese at any given time beyond the estimates arising from the poll-taxes at the end of the century. Thus the demographic variations for the period

that witnessed the onslaught of war and the arrival of the plague are rather elusive. However, an examination of the extant lists of ordinations for the years 1294-1324, 1332-47, and 1354-83 will help to provide an indication of the supply of priests at hand in the fourteenth century.[253] In the first of these periods, covering the years of Bishop John Halton, during whose episcopate were the heaviest Scottish incursions into northern England, an average of between four and five men were being ordained priests each year. The average rose to between seven and eight during the episcopate of John Kirkby, when the borders were politically and economically more stable than previously. The plague took an even worse toll on the recruitment of priests in the diocese than the years of continuous Scottish raiding, and in the decade following the first pestilence there was a sharp drop in the number of men ordained. Gilbert Welton, who was bishop from 1353 to 1362, managed to ordain no more than an average of one priest annually. The decline can not be explained entirely by the high death rate but may also be attributed to difficulties of obtaining the support of a patron, which was necessary in order to be ordained, and the better opportunities which were arising elsewhere. In view of the number of vacancies of benefices which would have arisen as a result of the plague, there certainly must have been a recruitment crisis in the 1350s.

Because of the gap in the episcopal registers for the critical plague years, it is impossible to ascertain, as

Hamilton Thompson did for the diocese of York, exactly how many vacancies were due to death.[254] At the beginning of the episcopate of Bishop Welton, however, only twenty-one of the eighty rectories and vicarages were still in the hands of those who had held them in 1347. Of course, of the remaining fifty-nine benefices which had fallen vacant in the intervening years, a certain number would have been due to resignation. In any case, the rate of death in the diocese among the beneficed clergy in 1349 and 1350 was perhaps close to that of York, that is, about forty-four per cent. For the next wave of the plague in 1361 and 1362, the diocesan records show that about twenty-four per cent of the incumbents of benefices died, a figure almost twice the death rate in the diocese of York.[255] It appears that Bishop Appleby, who succeeded Welton in 1363, implemented a definite policy to alleviate this problem. Whereas in the first half of the century Halton and Kirkby ordained men sporadically, sometimes not celebrating an ordination for more than a year within the diocese, Appleby consistently held four or five small ordinations each year, all but one within the diocese. It would seem that he was making an effort to avail the diocese of as many priests as possible, and the average number of men ordained each year rose to four, which nears the figure for the first quarter of the century.

The supply of priests available in any diocese depended upon the smooth and efficient running of the patronage system. Unless he were of independent means, it was

absolutely necessary for the hopeful cleric to find someone who was willing to provide him with a 'title', an annual stipend usually set at forty shillings while he was in minor orders and raised to five marks at the time that he was ordained a priest. The purpose of the title was to keep the clerk awaiting higher orders or ecclesiastical preferment from becoming impoverished and a burden upon the bishop and his church. Each title was granted by charter, which was scrutinised and approved before the clerk could proceed to ordination. Moreover, he had to proclaim himself satisfied with the amount of the title and promise not to trouble the bishop with it.[256] The benefactors of titles represent a remarkable cross-section of society, ranging from such men as Peter the butcher of Carlisle to the bishop himself.[257]

It might be supposed that generally throughout England many of the titles came from the beneficed clergy, who would then employ the beneficiaries as parish clerks in a kind of apprenticeship. But this was extremely rare in the diocese of Carlisle, and in several of the few such cases the patron appears to have been acting as benefactor to a relative rather than as an employer.[258] In fact, the diocesan clergy as a whole supplied relatively few of the needed titles. Religious houses, which provided a great deal of titles in other English dioceses, conceded few in the diocese of Carlisle. The priory of Carlisle granted only twelve known titles in the course of the century, and the combined efforts of Holmcultram abbey, Shap abbey,

Lanercost priory, and Wetheral priory produced but another twelve, only seven of the total twenty-four having been granted after the plague years.[259] The number of titles granted under episcopal auspices was, as may be expected, somewhat higher, since the bishop was probably in need of new clerks at most times for the duties of diocesan administration. For most of the century, however, the bishop's patronage in the form of titles comprised a small minority of the total number granted. Only Bishop Kirkby, whose episcopate covered the years 1332 to 1352, actively conceded titles to his *familia*, while Bishop Halton at the beginning of the century and Bishop Appleby at the end left it in the hands of the officers and clerks in their employ.[260]

When the general decline of revenues and the impoverishment of the benefices and religious houses are taken into consideration, it need not be surprising that the parish rectors and vicars and the monastic chapters consistently failed to concede any bulk of titles and that the names of laymen are so strongly represented as the benefactors of ordinands. Nevertheless, it must have been already usual for the layman of means to indulge in this kind of patronage. As we have seen, the number of men entering the priesthood was not especially low during the episcopate of John Halton, when the financial problems of the clergy were particularly acute, but the lay population was already providing the majority of titles at that time. With the exception of the 1350s, the laity of the diocese

provided about sixty per cent of the known titles in the course of the century.[261] Within this group, landowning families supplied most of the titles.[262] Some of these men, though not a great many, had inherited the advowsons of churches. Aside from the more important families, there was a sizeable group of smaller landowners, mesne tenants, and probable inhabitants of the smaller towns and villages of the diocese. Whereas the greater landowners usually provided two or more titles during their lifetimes, the smaller landowners generally acted as patrons only once. Together, these two groups conceded between eighty per cent at the beginning of the century and nearly one hundred per cent at the end of all the titles provided by laymen.

Not all the lay patrons came from the countryside. In the first half of the century, just over twenty per cent of the titles provided by laymen came from townsmen, most of whom were citizens of Carlisle and its nearby villages. That most of them were tradesmen is betrayed by such surnames as *tennator*, *pistor*, *aurifaber*, and *carnifex*, and their patronage was almost exclusively extended to those of the same locale, clerks from Carlisle, Stanwix, Grinsdale, and Crosby-on-Eden.[263] The patronymic surnames of the beneficiaries, such as *filius Johannis Carpentarii de Karliolo*, suggest the common class of the patron and his client, and that men such as Peter the butcher were granting titles to the sons of friends, associates, and, probably in many cases, relatives.[264] Most of the benefactors from Carlisle supported only one clerk in their

lifetimes, but others, such as Robert Tibay and Robert Grinsdale supplied as many as nine known titles, something few of the greater lords did.[25] This phenomenon is difficult to explain, unless perhaps the name of the individual was being used when, in reality, the titles granted were the charitable exercises of guilds and confraternities. Even the most pious townsman would have felt the pinch of paying up to twenty-five marks in titles every year, as Tibay certainly would have done in the early 1340s. Despite the war, or perhaps because of it, a degree of prosperity in the city of Carlisle may be deduced from the active practice of patronage on the part of some of its citizens. In the wake of the plague titles emanating from the towns nearly ceased completely. This took place in other sectors of society as well and helps to explain the lower number of men entering the priesthood at the end of the century.[266] The failure of the townsmen to concede any titles in the latter half of the century enhanced the position of the landed families as patrons, and the concession of titles was more than ever the domain of the countryside.

The reasons behind the enthusiasm of the laity in granting titles is not entirely clear. Ecclesiastical patrons could normally offer immediate employment to their clients as clerks or as chaplains. The greater lay patrons sought clerks to serve in their households, chaplains in their oratories, and priests to be presented to churches in their gift. There was probably no such *quid pro quo*

arrangement on the part of the large group of lesser landowners and the townsmen concerning their beneficiaries, as these patrons were in a less obvious position to make demands upon their clients. There is a danger of exaggerating the impersonal character of the patronage practised by the laity. The patron knew his client, and certainly in most cases for the lesser landowners and townsmen, he was acting as benefactor to the son of a friend, a tenant, or a relative. Indeed, in nineteen instances the beneficiary carried a surname that would indicate that he originated from an area where his patron held land. In forty-three instances the patrons and their clients were related or shared the same surname, and there must have been many cases of the two having been related in some way now impossible to ascertain.[267] Also, it was undoubtedly considered laudable and meritorious to the soul of the layman who gave aid to a man entering the church, and the lesser lay benefactors probably saw their actions more in the light of pious charity as a matter of patronage. The prayers the client might say for the soul of his benefactor were perhaps attractive to the lesser lay patron, and the support granted to the man entering the church by such patrons might be regarded as 'the poorer man's chantry'. Whatever his motives, the importance of the layman as grantor of titles ought not to be underestimated. By exercising this form of patronage, the laity was also exercising a kind of control over the church, for they were in effect recruiting a large part of

the diocesan clergy by choosing whom they would favour with titles.

The relationship between patron and client was rarely binding or life-long. Generally, there was little correlation between the benefactor as patron of a title and as patron of a benefice. Of all the laymen who granted titles, only nineteen possessed advowsons of churches within the diocese. But of the forty-six titles granted between them, in only five known instances were the recipients of titles from one of these nineteen patrons also presented to a church in his gift.[268] Clearly, after being ordained priests, most men would have had to find new patrons, either the incumbents of parish churches who would employ them as chaplains, or those who would present them to benefices. However, the lay patron of a title probably did take pains to see that his clerk was satisfactorily placed. There are several examples of priests who had been conceded titles from the more influential families eventually being beneficed upon presentation by other important laymen to churches in their gift.[269] The bishop was the single most important patron of benefices within his diocese, having in his collation up to twenty-two livings of the eighty rectories and vicarages. As the bishops' granting of titles was motivated by a need for clerks to be recruited into episcopal service and diocesan administration, it is not surprising that the incidence of men both conceded titles and beneficed by the bishop is slightly higher. For instance, of the eight men

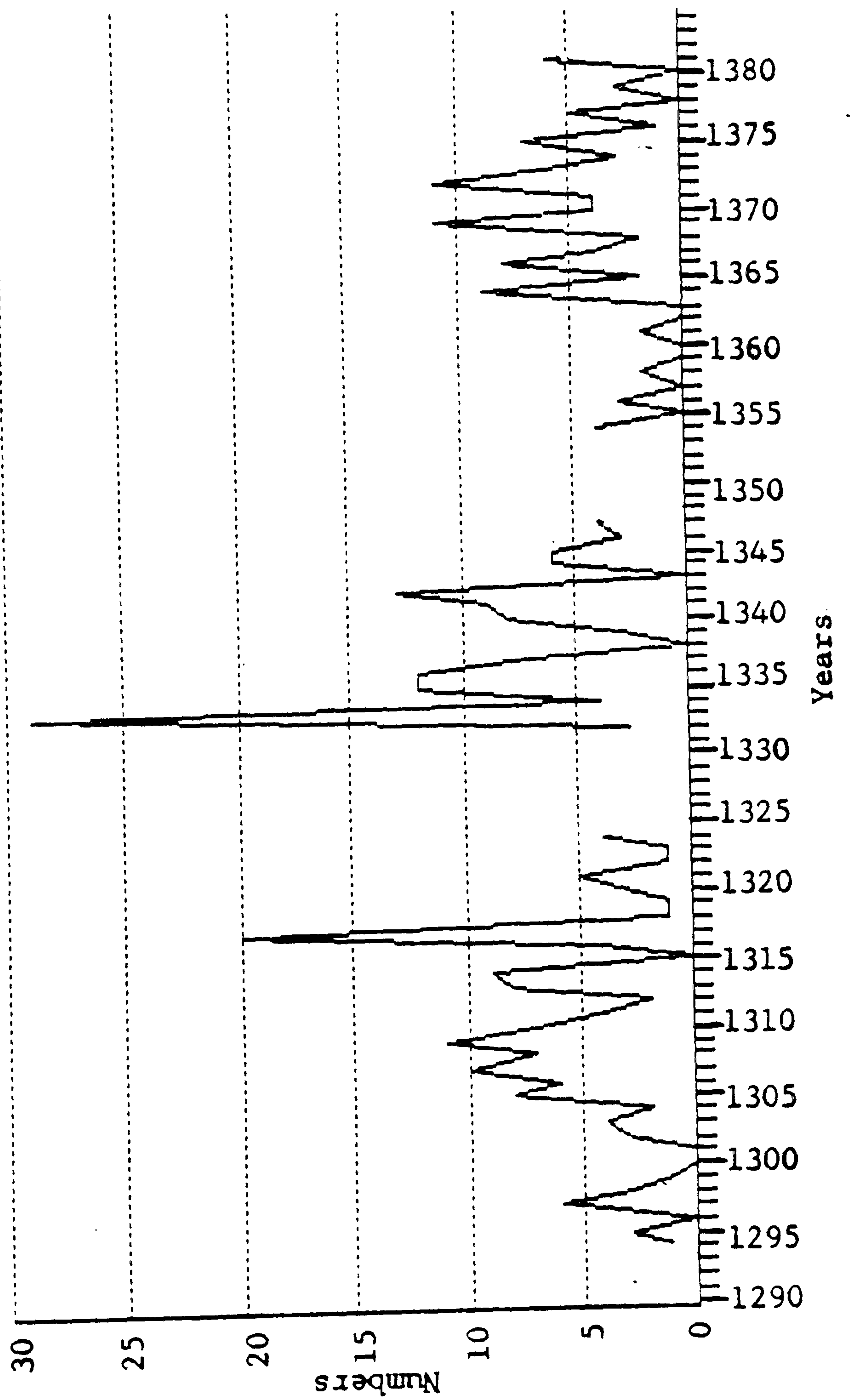
granted titles by Bishop Halton's official, Master John Bowes, three were eventually collated to churches in the gift of the bishop.[270]

Once beneficed, the relationship of the incumbent with the patron of his church appears to have been dependent upon the circumstances and personalities involved. Because of the nature of the bishop's patronage, that is, as a means of support and reward for those in the episcopal service, the relationship could be binding. The connections between the incumbent and his lay patron were somewhat different, but throughout the century a number of rectors were granted licences of non-residence by the bishop, specifically so that they might be in attendance upon their patrons.[271] Richard Askby, rector of Uldale, for instance, was almost continuously absent from his cure in the service of Thomas Lucy, the patron of his church.[272] William of York, rector of Bolton, did not receive licences to be in attendance upon the patron of his church, Alexander Mowbray, but spent most of his eight years as rector in the service of the Nevills.[273] Generally, the relations of the lay patron and his beneficed clerk appear to have been rather informal. This is best illustrated by the increasing amount of 'permutation' of benefices as the century wore on. When two incumbents exchanged their benefices, they not only replaced each other as the rector or vicar of their respective churches, but often, of course, exchanged patrons as well. The Crackenthorpe patrons of the church

of Newbiggin, for example, rarely presented to the benefice except under conditions of permutation.[274] The laity's acceptance of these facts indicates the looseness of their relationship with their presentees. Whereas families such as the Cliffords and the Lucys appear to have had a formal relationship with their presentees sometimes involving service, patrons such as the Crackenthorpes did not.

The nature of patronage is evident. Carlisle should be noted as an essentially rural diocese, and because of this the secular clergy lived and operated under rural patronage. Only in the first half of the century did the merchants and tradesmen of the towns actively offer support in the form of titles to the clergy that served them. The poorly endowed religious houses seemingly could not afford to indulge in the patronage of young and budding clerics to any considerable extent. Rather, the recruitment of the clergy was left largely to the landowning laymen by virtue of the number of titles they granted. Most important, the system of patronage and the recruitment and availability of the clergy were certainly directly affected by both the war and the pestilences of the second half of the century. Just as the rural character of the diocese implied a certain structure of society which helped to determine the system of patronage, so the location of the diocese on the borders and the incidence of plague helped to undermine conditions that fostered that system.

Numbers of Priests Ordained



SOURCES OF TITLES

SOURCE	1294-1324 No. (%)	1332-47 No. (%)	1353-62 No. (%)	1363-83 No. (%)
Bishop & Officers	21 (8.5)	10 (5.3)	--	16 (13.3)
Carlisle Priory	8 (3.2)	4 (2.1)	--	1 (0.8)
Religious Houses in Diocese	4 (1.6)	2 (1.1)	1 (3.7)	5 (4.2)
Religious Houses not in Diocese	1 (0.4)	3 (1.6)	1 (3.7)	5 (4.2)
Other Clergy	5 (2.0)	6 (3.2)	--	1 (0.8)
Greater Landowners	30 (12.1)	30 (16.0)	6 (22.2)	33 (27.5)
Lesser Landowners	86 (34.8)	73 (39.0)	4 (14.8)	45 (37.5)
Townsmen	33 (13.4)	25 (13.4)	--	2 (1.7)
Title of Patrimony	12 (4.9)	2 (1.1)	6 (22.2)	3 (2.5)
Title of Benefice	37 (15.0)	12 (6.4)	5 (18.5)	4 (3.3)
Unknown Title	10 (4.0)	20 (10.7)	4 (14.8)	5 (4.2)
TOTAL	247	187	27	120

Notes

1. For a list of extant episcopal registers along with current bibliographies, see David M. Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers of England and Wales: A Survey from the Middle Ages to the Abolition of Episcopacy in 1646* (London, 1981). See also Dorothy M. Owen, *The Records of the Established Church in England, excluding Parochial Records, Archives and the User 1* (London, 1970); R.C. Fowler, *Episcopal Registers of England and Wales, Helps for Students of History* pamphlets 1 (London, 1918); C.R. Cheney, *English Bishops' Chanceries, 1100-1250* (Manchester, 1950) pp 99-141; and Rosalind Hill, 'Uncovenanted Blessings of Ecclesiastical Records', *SCH* 11 (1975) pp 135-46.
2. *Reg Halton* 2, p 111.
3. See above, p 71.
4. *Lanercost*, pp 144-5; *The Royal Charters of Carlisle*, ed R.S. Ferguson, CWAAS Extra Series 10 (Kendal, 1894) pp 10-11.
5. The fire was not cited as a reason for the confirmations of royal charters to the priory after 1292, and in 1307 a confirmation of four charters was made 'on account of the age and weakness of the said charters and the breaking of their seals'; *CChR*, 1300-26, pp 81-2, 269, 361-2, 407; *CChR*, 1327-41, pp 169, 299-300.
6. C.M. Lowther Bouch, 'The Muniments of the Diocese of Carlisle', *TCWAAS* ns 46 (1946) pp 174-90.
7. C.R. Davey, 'Early Diocesan Accounts at Carlisle', *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 3 (1968) pp 424-5.
8. The property of Giles Mounsey Heysham and now classified as D/Mh.
9. *CRO*, *DRC* 1/1-2.
10. It was the opinion of Charles Johnson that these eight folios came from another volume, but it is more likely that they were folios 116-24 of the first foliation, and that the mistake was not long afterwards corrected, as the first folio of Kirkby's register, which immediately follows, was also numbered 116; *Reg Halton* 1, p vi. The present folio 3 should follow folio 7.
11. Folios 22, 23, 101, 102, and 109 of the first foliation were lost before the second, and folio 68 of the first (or 76 of the second) foliation was lost sometime later.
12. The misnumbering caused by this error was adjusted by

the deliberate omission of number 194. It is not possible that 194 is a missing folio, as the entry begun at the bottom of folio 193v is completed at the top of folio 195r.

13. The whole of the register was probably still intact in 1340, when Bishop Kirkby issued letters testimonial of the orders of William K[kirkby], vicar of W[igton], after inspection of Ross' register; Reg Kirkby, fols 213v, 228r.
14. Fols 20, 32, 59, 61-8, 70, 74, 77, 87, 91.
15. Fols 96, 111-12, 116-17, 122, 125-6.
16. Cheney, *English Bishops' Chanceries*, pp 22-43; Irene Churchill, *Canterbury Administration: The Administrative Machinery of the Archbishopric of Canterbury Illustrated from Original Records*, 2 vols (London, 1933) 1, pp 16-24, 486-8; A. Hamilton Thompson, *The English Clergy and their Organization in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1947) pp 54-5.
17. Reg Welton, fols 10r, 11r.
18. Reg Kirkby, fol 246r.
19. PRO, SC 8/303/15105.
20. Reg Halton 2, p 163; Reg Kirkby, fols 146r, 162v, 250r.
21. CRO, DRC 2/7-25. C.R. Cheney, *Notaries Public in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1972) p 43 points out that registrars were usually notaries by the mid-fourteenth century.
22. PRO, SC 8/303/15105.
23. Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers*, pp 31, 110-11.
24. Cheney, *English Bishops' Chanceries*, pp 100-10.
25. Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers*, *passim*.
26. Rosalind Hill, 'Bishop Sutton and his Archives: A Study in the Keeping of Registers in the Thirteenth Century', *JEH* 2 (1951) pp 43-53.
27. Examples of such transcripts may be found in Reg Halton 1, pp 115-6, 124-8, 139-41, 172-5, 190-4, 209-11; 2, pp 80, 122-3, 141-2; Reg Kirkby, fols 148v, 157r, 175r, 247v; Reg Appleby, fol 36r.
28. The certificates of the findings of inquests into vacant benefices were, however, often copied into the registers

of Halton and Kirkby; *Reg Halton* 1, pp 163, 219-21, 227-8, 231-9, 245-8; 2, pp 20-1, 27-8; *Reg Kirkby*, fols 125r/v, 128v, 142r-143r, 174v, 176v, 180v, 187r/v, 204r, 228r, 236v-237r, 241r, 243r, 250r, 255r.

29. *Reg Kirkby*, fols 227v, 229v-230r, 232v, 234r/v.
30. *Reg Halton* 1, pp 13-14, 131-2; 2, pp 235-6; PRO, C 85/194/46, 49-50.
31. *Reg Kirkby*, fols 144v, 168v, 245v; PRO, C 85/195/1-2, 5-9.
32. *Reg Welton*, fols 9v, 15r/v, 16r, 33v, 35v, 40v, 43r; PRO, C 85/195/11-15.
33. The two signfications in Appleby's register are copies of the first two of the twenty-one surviving originals; *Reg Appleby*, fols 8r, 9r; PRO, C 85/195/16-36.
34. This is particularly true in the case of Appleby's register.
35. For a general treatment of diocesan administration in medieval England, see Robert E. Rodes, Jr, *Ecclesiastical Administration in Medieval England: The Anglo-Saxons to the Reformation* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1977). Churchill, *Canterbury Administration* is a pioneer study still of great value. R.M. Haines, *The Administration of the Diocese of Worcester in the First Half of the Fourteenth Century* (London, 1965) is a work of the highest standards that is larger in scope than the title suggests and is now indispensable to anyone investigating ecclesiastical administration in this period. Thompson, *The English Clergy*, especially pp 40-71, concentrates on the fifteenth century but is of course valuable to the student of the fourteenth century. See also Dorothy Owen, *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1971) pp 20-36; and R.L. Storey, *Diocesan Administration in Fifteenth-Century England*, Borthwick Papers 16, 2nd ed (York, 1972). In addition, the subject is examined in most introductions to the printed editions of episcopal registers published by the Canterbury and York Society and some local record societies and usually figures prominently in studies of the careers of individual bishops. Notable examples of the latter are Decima L. Douie, *Archbishop Pecham* (Oxford, 1952); R.L. Storey, *Thomas Langley and the Bishopric of Durham, 1406-1437* (London, 1961); Joseph Dahmus, *William Courtenay, Archbishop of Canterbury* (London, 1966); Margaret Aston, *Thomas Arundel: A Study of Church Life in the Reign of Richard II* (Oxford, 1967); R.M. Haines, *The Church and Politics in Fourteenth-Century England: The Career of Adam Orleton, c. 1275-1345* (Cambridge, 1978); and J. Robert Wright, *The Church*

and the English Crown, 1305-1334: A Study Based on the Register of Archbishop Walter Reynolds (Toronto, 1980). For aspects of the administration of the diocese of Carlisle, see the chapter, 'Ecclesiastical History' by James Wilson in *VCH, Cumberland* 2, pp 1-210; T.F. Tout's introduction to *Reg Halton* 1, pp i-xliii; and C.M.L. Bouch, *Prelates and People of the Lake Counties: A History of the Diocese of Carlisle, 1133-1933* (Kendal, 1948).

36. See above, p 155; for the offices of sequestrator and commissary, see Churchill, *Canterbury Administration* 1, pp 54-62; Haines, *Administration of Worcester*, pp 114-24, 128-33.
37. See Appendix A.
38. Thompson, *The English Clergy*, pp 48-9.
39. Ibid, p 48.
40. Reg Appleby, fols 56v, 82r.
41. Reg Halton 1, pp 76-7; Reg Ross, fols 130r, 134r; Reg Kirkby, fols 144r, 148r, 150v, 185v, 206r/v, 209v, 210r, 219r; Reg Welton, fol 55r/v; Reg Appleby, fol 93r.
42. Reg Halton 1, pp 23-5, 134, 229-30, 230-1, 250; 2, pp 155, 164, 167-9, 217-18, 226-7, 228; Reg Kirkby, fols 150v, 155r, 157v-158r, 163v, 164r, 166r-168r, 177v-178v, 182v-183r, 203v, 207v, 208v-209v, 211r, 239r-240r, 252r, 252v, 253r-254r, 255v; Reg Welton, fols 63r-64v; Reg Appleby, fols 78r-86v.
43. *Councils and Synods* 2:1, p 591.
44. *CIPM* 13, no 66.
45. Reg Appleby, fol 99v.
46. Thompson, *The English Clergy*, pp 45-6, 69; Rodes, *Ecclesiastical Administration*, p 137; Churchill, *Canterbury Administration* 1, p 131.
47. Reg Kirkby, fols 168v-169r, 193r/v, 202v-203r, 214r, 219r/v, 244r, 245r; Reg Welton, fols 13v, 22v-23v, 36v; Reg Appleby, fols 3v, 29v, 69r, 99v, 103r/v.
48. The list of charges were copied into the bishop's register; *Reg Halton* 1, pp 119-22.
49. *Reg Halton* 1, pp 197-8. Halton stated that his visitation of the deanery took place between Martinmas (11 November) and the feast of St Thomas the apostle (21 December), but this is an obvious approximation, for on

- 15 November he was at Overton in Yorkshire and on 20 December in Carlisle. He visited at least two parish churches: Brough on 21 November and Barton on 7 December. See Appendix A, p 264.
50. See Appendix A, p 266-7.
 51. Appleby, 4 April 1310; Kirkoswald, 19 December 1310; Wetheral, 26 March 1311; Bridekirk, 27 March 1311; Wigton, 3 March 1312; Brough, 26 February 1313; Penrith, 10 March 1313. See Appendix A, pp 269-71.
 52. July 1314-October 1316; April x May 1317-May x August 1319; December 1319-March x August 1320; May x June 1322-April x June 1324. See Appendix A, pp 271-7.
 53. *Reg Halton* 2, p 221; see Appendix A, p 275.
 54. *Reg Ross*, fols 131v, 132v, 134v-135r, 136r/v, 140r/v.
 55. C.R. Cheney, *Episcopal Visitation of Monasteries in the Thirteenth Century* (Manchester, 1931), David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1948-59) 1, pp 78-112.
 56. *VCH, Cumberland* 2, pp 199-203; *Reg Kirkby*, fol 170r.
 57. *Reg Kirkby*, fols 168v-169r, 193r/v, 202v-203r, 214r, 219r/v, 244r, 245r; *Reg Welton*, fols 13v, 22v-23v, 36v; *Reg Appleby*, fols 3v, 29v, 69r, 99v, 103r/v.
 58. *Reg Kirkby*, fols 168v-169r, 219v; *Reg Welton*, fols 22v-23v, 36v; *Reg Appleby*, fols 69r, 99v. Bishop Kirkby's visitation of the cathedral chapter in 1339 may be inferred from the context of a mandate to the canons in 1341 concerning injunctions given them after the previous visitation.
 59. Churchill, *Canterbury Administration* 1, p 138; Haines, *Administration of Worcester*, p 150.
 60. *Reg Kirkby*, fols 168v-169r, 193r/v.
 61. *Ibid*, fols 202v-203r. The mandate to the official and the rural deans is undated but in other entries around it are dated April-May 1339.
 62. *Ibid*, fols 219v, 221v.
 63. *Ibid*, fols 244r, 245r.
 64. *Reg Welton*, fols 10r/v, 11r/v, 13r.
 65. *Ibid*, fol 13v.

66. Ibid, fols 22v-23r; William E. Lunt, *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England, 1327-1534* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1962) p 714.
67. Reg Welton, fol 24r.
68. Ibid, fol 36v.
69. Reg Appleby, fols 2v, 3v, 29v.
70. Ibid, fol 69r. It is here assumed that Appleby intended to visit the entire diocese, though registration was made only of the mandate to the dean of Carlisle, as indeed was the case in the two mandates issued in 1379, following.
71. Ibid, fols 99v, 103r/v.
72. Ibid, fol 124r.
73. Ibid, fol 128v.
74. Ibid, fol 136r.
75. For the visitation of religious houses, see Cheney, *Visitation of Monasteries*, pp 59-103.
76. Reg Halton 1, pp 119-22.
77. Ibid; Reg Kirkby, fol 214r.
78. Reg Kirkby, fol 193r.
79. Ibid, fols 171v, 196v, 204r, 213v; Reg Welton, fols 10r, 11r/v, 13r, 24v, 26r, 27r/v, 30v-31r; Reg Appleby, fols 1v, 2v, 73v.
80. Reg Kirkby, fols 175r, 193r; Reg Welton, fol 24r.
81. Reg Kirkby, fols 173r, 174r, 176r; Reg Welton, fol 27v; Reg Appleby, fol 124r.
82. C.R. Cheney, *English Synodalia of the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1941), especially pp 1-33.
83. Ibid, pp 34-146; Marion Gibbs and Jane Lang, *Bishops and Reform, 1215-1272* (London, 1934).
84. The statutes are printed in *Councils and Synods* 2, ed F.M. Powicke and C.R. Cheney, part 1, pp 586-630; and see C.R. Cheney, 'The Medieval Statutes of the Diocese of Carlisle', *EHR* 62 (1947) pp 52-7.
85. Reg Welton, fols 3v, 5v, 52r.

86. Cheney, *English Synodalia*, pp 12-15.
87. Reg Kirkby, fol 159v.
88. Haines, *Administration of Worcester*, pp 87-9.
89. Dorothy M. Owen, 'Synods in the Diocese of Ely in the Later Middle Ages and the Sixteenth Century', *SCH* 3, pp 217-22; Owen, *Church in Lincolnshire*, pp 28-30.
90. The appointment by the clergy of the diocese on 30 September 1300 (the day after Michaelmas) at Carlisle of Henry of St Nicholas to act as their proctor at Rome in the matter was probably enacted at a synod; *Reg Halton* 1, pp 130-1.
91. Reg Kirkby, fol 237v.
92. Reg Welton, fols 5v, 52r.
93. The total amount due from the *senagium* was £15 3s 4d: 107s 4d from the deanery of Carlisle, 50s from Allerdale, 54s from Cumberland, and £4 12s from Westmorland; *Reg Kirkby*, fol 257r/v; *Reg Appleby*, fol 123r. The arch-deacon's right to receive one-third of the *senagium* was confirmed by Bishop Welton in 1360; *Reg Welton*, fols 34r, 37v.
94. *Reg Kirkby*, fols 208r, 210r/v.
95. Dorothy Bruce Weske, *Convocation of the Clergy: A Study of its Antecedents and its Rise with Special Emphasis upon its Growth and Activities in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (London, 1937) pp 180-94, 275-95; *Handbook*, pp 553-9.
96. *Councils and Synods* 2, *passim*.
97. *Reg Romeyn* 2, no 1380; *Reg Melton* 1, no 311; cf Fraser, *Anthony Bek*, pp 42-3.
98. *Reg Wickwane*, no 542; *The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, 3 vols, ed James Raine, RS 71 (London, 1879-94) 3, no 150.
99. Robert Brentano, *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction and Papal Judges Delegate (1279-1296)* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1959) pp 7-8, 92-3.
100. *Historians of the Church of York* 3, no 145.
101. *Reg Appleby*, fol 13v. The *ad limina* visits to the holy see were of course also normally performed by proctors. In 1365 John Marshal, rector of Rothbury undertook the journey in Appleby's place, in 1368 Master John Carlisle,

and in 1371 Thomas Mome; Ibid, fols 9v, 10r, 54v.

102. See Brentano, *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction: Historians of the Church of York* 3, no 137.
103. *Reg Melton* 1, nos 253, 265; YBI, Reg 14 (Arundel), fols 77v-80r.
104. *Reg Romeyn* 2, nos 1373-6.
105. *Lanercost*, p 253; *Reg Melton* 1, nos 249, 251, 253, 257-8; see above, p 10.
106. *Reg Melton* 1, nos 302, 304, 308; see above, pp 11-12.
107. Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers*, p 239.
108. Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541* 6, p 97; YBI, Reg 14 (Arundel), fols 77r-81v.
109. The canonries and prebends of secular cathedrals and colleges were a particularly valuable form of patronage, because they were 'compatible' with benefices with cure of souls.
110. Robert Donaldson, 'Patronage and the Church: A Study in the Social Structure of the Secular Clergy in the Diocese of Durham (1311-1540)' 2 vols (PhD, University of Edinburgh, 1955) 1, pp 173-6; David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (London, 1953) pp 325-46.
111. See Appendix C.
112. Donaldson, 'Patronage and the Church' 1, pp 239-42.
113. *CPL* 1, p 91; *CChR*, 1226-57, pp 114.
114. *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p 317; *CPL* 3, p 70; *CCR*, 1343-6, pp 405-6.
115. *CPR*, 1301-7, p 321.
116. *CPR*, 1313-17, p 127; *CPR*, 1330-4, p 552; *CPR*, 1377-81, p 558.
117. *Reg Halton* 1, pp 240-1; 2, pp 80-1; *CPL* 3, p 117.
118. *CPR*, 1313-17, p 186.
119. G. Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon, 1305-1378*, trans Janet Love (London, 1963) pp 9-11.
120. *Reg Halton* 2, pp 172-6; *Northern Regs*, pp 282-4; see above, p 47.

121. CPL 2, p 184.
122. Reg Kirkby, fols 151v-154r.
123. CPR, 1334-8, p 36.
124. Reg Kirkby, fols 146r, 159v-160v.
125. See Margaret Howell, *Regalian Right in Medieval England* (London, 1962).
126. CPR, 1281-92, pp 486, 492; Reg Romeyn 2, no 1375; CPR, 1324-7, pp 96, 126; Reg Kirkby, fol 129v; CPR, 1350-4, pp 384, 468; CPR, 1361-4, pp 278, 281, 330. These do not include the few instances when the presentations were made on account of exchange of benefices.
127. Reg Halton 1, pp 32-3.
128. Reg Kirkby, fol 128r.
129. CPR, 1358-61, p 226; Reg Welton, fol 31r; CPR, 1367-70, p 4.
130. See Geoffrey Barraclough, *Papal Provisions: Aspects of Church History, Constitutional, Legal, and Administrative, in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1935); Wright, *The Church and the Crown*, pp 1-97; J.R.L. Highfield, 'The Relations between the Church and the English Crown from the Death of Archbishop Stratford to the Opening of the Great Schism (1349-78)' (DPhil, University of Oxford, 1951) pp 12-75.
131. See Appendix C, 'Caldbeck', 'Crosthwaite', 'Dalston', 'Kirkland', and 'Musgrave'.
132. Reg Appleby, fol 88v.
133. Only one provisor is known to have gained a benefice of the bishop's during the remainder of Appleby's episcopate: Robert Lowther, vicar of Dalston; *ibid*, fol 134r. However, the state of Appleby's register is such that it is not possible to say with confidence that he was the only one.
134. Bishop Halton appears to have executed a papal mandate to provide an unnamed clerk to a benefice in the gift of the prior and canons of Lanercost in 1301; Reg Halton 1, p 150.
135. Only three resignations, those of Clifton rectory by Master Thomas Caldbeck, Wigton rectory by John Sandale, and Bowness rectory by Roger Northburgh, seem to have been made as a result of *Execrabilis*. Clifton was a

church in the bishop's gift, but no provision was made. Both Wigton and Bowness were, however, in the patronage of laymen, and therefore the pope did not provide; Wright, *The Church and the Crown*, pp 72-73; *Reg Halton* 2, pp 152-3, 170-1; see Appendix C, 'Bowness', 'Clifton', and 'Wigton'.

136. The assumption is based solely on their names; *CPL* 2, p 109.
137. *Reg Kirkby*, fols 151v-154r, 192Bv; *Reg Appleby*, fols 25v, 33v; *CPL* 3, pp 117, 348-9, 416, 542, 575; *CPR*, 1350-4, p 468; *CPR*, 1354-8, pp 330, 369-70; *CPR*, 1361-4, p 330; *CPR*, 1367-70, p 4.
138. *Reg Halton* 2, pp 202-3; Donaldson, 'Patronage and the Church' 2, pp 247-9.
139. Wright, *The Church and the Crown*, pp 18-30.
140. *Reg Kirkby*, fols 175v-176v.
141. Wright, *The Church and the Crown*, pp 18-19.
142. *Reg Kirkby*, fol 181r.
143. *Ibid*, fols 183v, 184v, 185r.
144. *Ibid*, fol 186r. On the Sapitis, see Wright, *The Church and the Crown*, pp 110-13.
145. *Reg Kirkby*, fols 196r, 201r.
146. Churchill, *Canterbury Administration* 1, pp 427-30, 460-5.
147. *Reg Kirkby*, fol 188r.
148. PRO, SC 8/235/11704.
149. *Reg Kirkby*, fols 193v, 196r, 201r.
150. *Ibid*, fol 218v.
151. YBI, CF E 48.
152. *Reg Kirkby*, fols 250r, 251r.
153. *Reg Welton*, fols 26r, 27v.
154. *Reg Kirkby*, fol 249v.
155. See Appendix C.
156. *Ibid*, 'Caldbeck'.

157. Ibid, 'Appleby', 'Arthurel', 'Aspatria', 'Bromfield', 'Caldbeck', 'Cliburn', 'Clifton', 'Crosby', 'Crosthwaite', 'Dalston', 'Denton-Nether', 'Eston', 'Gilcrux', 'Kirkland', 'Lazonby', 'Musgrave', 'Ormside', 'Ousby', 'Penrith', 'Scaleby', 'Stanwix', 'Torpenthwaite', and 'Wigton'.
158. Reg Appleby, fol 88v.
159. For general discussions of the archdeacon's office, see A. Hamilton Thompson, 'Diocesan Organization in the Middle Ages: Archdeacons and Rural Deans', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 29 (1943) pp 153-94; idem, *The English Clergy*, pp 57-63. For the archdeaconry of Carlisle, see *UCH, Cumberland* 2, pp 117-21. See also Haines, *Administration of Worcester*, pp 30-62; Churchill, *Canterbury Administration* 1, pp 43-53.
160. Mandates to induct were normally issued to the archdeacon at the same as the letters of institution. On a few occasions, mostly during the dispute between Bishop Kirkby and Archdeacon Kendal, the mandates were sent to others; Reg Halton 1, p 105; 2, p 169; Reg Kirkby, fols 174v, 182r, 184r/v, 187r/v, 195r, 204r, 212r, 217Ar, 218r, 228r, 234v, 235r, 241r; Reg Horncastle, fol 1r; Reg Welton, fols 3v, 4r, 24r, 27v, 34r; Reg Appleby, fol 36r/v.
161. *UCH, Cumberland* 2, pp 19-22.
162. Reg Halton 1, pp 176-7.
163. These were assessed at £10 in 1291; *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p 320.
164. *CPL* 1, p 538.
165. Reg Halton 2, p 171.
166. Reg Welton, fols 13r, 16r, 25r.
167. Ibid, fols 18r, 25r.
168. Ibid, fols 34r, 37v.
169. *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p 320.
170. Reg Halton 1, p 238; 2, p 225.
171. *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p 318; *CCR, 1288-96*, pp 263-4.
172. *CPR, 1292-1301*, p 569; Reg Corbridge 2, no 1093.
173. *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, *passim*.
174. For the occupants of the archdeaconry and a summary of

their earlier careers, see Appendix B, where full references are given.

175. *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p 318.
176. *Reg Halton* 1, p 218.
177. *Ibid* 2, pp 69, 199-200.
178. *Ibid*, p 165; Donaldson, 'Patronage and the Church' 2, p 128.
179. See above, pp 192-3.
180. *Reg Kirkby*, fol 185r.
181. *Ibid*, fols 174v, 182r, 184r/v, 187r/v, 195r, 204r, 212r, 217Ar, 218r, 228r, 234v, 235r, 241r.
182. *Ibid*, fol 186v.
183. *Ibid*, fols 238r, 239r, 241v, 242r, 243r, 249r, 250v.
184. *Ibid*, fol 189r.
185. *VCH: Cumberland* 2, pp 118-19.
186. *Reg Kirkby*, fol 189v.
187. *Ibid*, fol 210r/v.
188. There is no clear evidence to support Wilson's statement that Kendal was deprived in 1340; *VCH: Cumberland* 2, p 119.
189. *Reg Welton*, fols 34r, 37v.
190. *Reg Appleby*, fols 16v, 25v, 33v.
191. *CIPM* 15, nos 301-2.
192. *Reg Halton* 2, p 112; *Reg Ross*, fols 130r, 131v, 133r, 134v, 135r/v, 136r/v, 138r, 139v; *Reg Kirkby*, fols 147v, 175r, 185r, 190v-191r, 201v, 205v, 208v, 218v, 221v, 222r, 246r, 118v; *Reg Welton*, fols 2r, 6r, 16v, 22r, 37v, 52r; *Reg Appleby*, fols 15v, 58r, 101r, 102v, 131r, 136r.
193. *Reg Halton* 1, p 10; 2, pp 58-9, 218-19; *Reg Ross*, fols 130v, 133r, 137v; *Reg Kirkby*, fols 151r, 176r/v, 177r, 179v, 192Bv, 206v, 207v, 214v, 237r; *Reg Welton*, fols 16r, 21v, 30r/v, 32r, 33v, 37r, 50v, 59v; *Reg Appleby*, fols 4r, 34r/v, 93v-94r, 100v-101r.
194. *Reg Halton* 2, pp 37-8, 40.

195. Jean Scammell, 'The Rural Chapter in England from the Eleventh to the Fourteenth Century', *EHR* 86 (1971) pp 1-21; Haines, *Administration of Worcester*, pp 50-6. Mrs Owen's belief that rural deans in the diocese of Carlisle had this jurisdiction is mistaken, for although they certainly did account for the profits, the corrections themselves were made by the official: Dorothy Owen, 'Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in England 1300 to 1550: The Records and Their Interpretation', *SCH* 11 (1975) pp 199-221, at p 200; cf *Reg Halton* 2, pp 37-8, 40; *Reg Kirkby*, fol 218v; *Reg Welton*, fols 34r, 37v; CRO, DRC 2/7-25.
196. *Reg Halton* 1, pp 4-5, 163, 219-21, 227-8, 231-9, 245-6, 247-8; 2, pp 20-1, 27-8; *Reg Kirkby*, fols 124v, 125r, 128v, 142r/v, 144v, 145r, 174v, 176v, 180v, 187r/v, 192Ar/v, 192Br, 202v, 204r, 205v, 210r, 218r, 220r, 221r, 228r, 236v-237r, 241r, 243r, 250r/v, 252r, 255r; *Reg Welton*, fol 1v; *Reg Appleby*, fols 23v-24r, 35v-36r, 43v-44r, 101r/v, cf Churchill, *Canterbury Administration* 1, p 107, Haines, *Administration of Worcester*, pp 55-6.
197. For the officials and a summary of their careers, see Appendix B, where full references are given.
198. *Reg Kirkby*, fol 154r.
199. See Appendix C, 'Beaumont'.
200. *Reg Appleby*, fols 16v, 60r/v, 73v, 76r/v.
201. *Reg Kirkby*, fols 202r, 237v.
202. *Reg Halton* 2, pp 37-8, 40; *Reg Kirkby*, fols 202r, 218v, 237v; *Reg Welton*, fols 2r, 8v.
203. On English ecclesiastical courts, see Brian L. Woodcock, *Medieval Ecclesiastical Courts in the Diocese of Canterbury* (Oxford, 1952); C.I.A. Richie, *The Ecclesiastical Courts of York* (Arbroath, 1957); F.D. Logan, *Excommunication and the Secular Arm in Medieval England: A Study of Legal Procedure from the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Century* (Toronto, 1968); Audrey M. Ershine, 'Ecclesiastical Courts and Their Records in the Province of Canterbury', *Archives* 3, no 17 (1957) pp 8-17; J.S. Purvis, 'The Ecclesiastical Courts of York', *ibid*, pp 18-27; Colin Morris, 'A Consistory Court in the Middle Ages', *JEH* 14 (1963) pp 150-9; *idem*, 'From Synod to Consistory: The Bishops' Court in England, 1150-1250', *JEH* 22 (1971) pp 115-23; Dorothy Owen, 'Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction'; *idem*, 'An Episcopal Audience Court', *Legal Records and the Historian*, ed J.H. Baker (London, 1978) pp 140-9.
204. *Reg Halton* 1, pp 328-9; 2, pp 105-9; *Reg Kirkby*, fols 230v, 231v; *Reg Welton*, fols 7v-8r, 12v, 14r, 22r/v, 34v, 35r, 38r, 38v, 58r; *Reg Appleby*, fols 2v-3r, 9r; YBI, CF E 46.

205. *Reg Halton* 1, pp 145, 202-3; 2, pp 9-11, 67-8, 134-5, 195-6; *Reg Ross*, fols 133r, 134v; *Reg Kirkby*, fols 146v, 187r, 198r, 201v, 202r, 205v, 221v, 222r, 252v; *Reg Welton*, fols 60v-61r; *Reg Appleby*, fol 227r.
206. *Reg Welton*, fol 8v.
207. *Reg Halton* 1, pp 197-8; *Reg Welton*, fols 4r, 27v; *Reg Appleby*, fols 95v, 97r/v, 131r.
208. *Reg Halton* 1, pp 178, 190; *Reg Kirkby*, fols 124r, 173r, 174r, 176r; *Reg Welton*, fol 8r/v; *Reg Appleby*, fols 16v, 27v, 123v, 127v.
209. *Reg Halton* 1, p 86. She proved her innocence by purgation, but Greystoke repudiated her nonetheless, and the next year she sued him for support; *ibid*, pp 328-9.
210. *Reg Kirkby*, fols 83v, 229r; *Reg Welton*, fols 9r, 13r, 16v, 56r; *Reg Appleby*, fol 27v.
211. *Reg Kirkby*, fols 213v, 226v, 227v, 229v, 230r, 232v, 234v; *Reg Welton*, fols 2v, 4r, 35r, 36r, 43r, 48v, 52r; *Reg Appleby*, fol 4r; *Test Karl*, *passim*.
212. *Reg Welton*, fols 7v-8r, 33v.
213. *Reg Halton* 1, pp 202, 297; *Reg Kirkby*, fols 159r/v, 185r, 198r, 221v, 229r, 234r; *Reg Welton*, fols 3r, 4r, 22r, 43v, 44v, 60v-61r; *Reg Appleby*, fols 127v, 135v-136r.
214. *Reg Welton*, fol 7v; *Test Karl*, pp 1-73.
215. *Reg Halton* 1, p 297; *Reg Kirkby*, fols 26r/v, 185r, 196r, 230r, 232v, 234r/v; *Reg Welton*, fols 3r, 4r, 22r, 43v; *Reg Appleby*, fols 75v, 95v, 97r/v, 133v, 135v, 136r.
216. *Reg Halton* 1, p 76; *Reg Welton*, fol 26v; *Reg Appleby*, fol 38r.
217. Rodes, *Ecclesiastical Administration*, p 138; Churchill, *Canterbury Administration* 1, pp 456-7; Woodcock, *Courts of Canterbury*, pp 48-9; Haines, *Administration of Worcester*, pp 137-41. See also L.A. Haselmayer, 'The Apparitor and Chancer's Summoner', *Speculum* 12 (1937) pp 43-57.
218. *Reg Halton* 1, pp 328-9; 2, pp 105-9.
219. YBI, CF E 46.
220. *Reg Appleby*, fols 2v-3r.
221. *Reg Welton*, fols 7v-8r.

222. Reg Ross, fols 131v, 135r.
223. Reg Kirkby, fols 187r, 202r, 204v.
224. Ibid, fols 161v, 185r, 186v, 204v, 210v, 220v.
225. Reg Welton, fols 8v, 38r/v.
226. Ibid, fol 52r; Reg Appleby, fol 16v.
227. Reg Appleby, fols 60r, 73v, 76r/v.
228. The legal aspects of the subject have been admirably dealt with by Logan, *Excommunication and the Secular Arm*, and the pastoral by Rosalind Hill, 'Public Penance: Some Problems of a Thirteenth Century Bishop', *History* ns 36 (1951) pp 213-26; idem, 'The Theory and Practice of Excommunication in Medieval England', *History* ns 42 (1957) pp 1-11.
229. Logan, *Excommunication and the Secular Arm*, pp 137-44.
230. *Reg Halton* 1, pp 13-14, 131-2; 2, pp 235-6; Reg Kirkby, fols 144v, 168v, 245v; Reg Welton, fols 9v, 15r/v, 16r, 33v, 35v, 40v, 43r; Reg Appleby, fols 8r, 9r; PRO C 85/194/46, 49-50, C 85/195/1-36.
231. Reg Kirkby, fol 215v.
232. Reg Ross, fol 140r.
233. Reg Kirkby, fol 159r/v.
234. Ibid, fols 242v, 251r. Levington's commission actually gives the county of Cumberland as his area, but in the light of Deyncourt's concurrent commission it is probable that the two deaneries of Carlisle and Allerdale were intended.
235. Reg Welton, fol 2r.
236. Ibid, fol 16r.
237. Reg Appleby, fols 3v, 15r.
238. Reg Welton, fols 8v, 13r, 54v, 60r.
239. Ibid, fols 59v, 60r.
240. For the vicars-general, see Appendix B, where full references are given.
241. On rural deans, see J. Foster, 'The Activities of Rural Deans in England in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries' (MA, University of Manchester, 1955); Hamilton Thompson,

'Diocesan Organization in the Middle Ages: Archdeacons and Rural Deans'; Haines, *Administration of Worcester*, pp 62-74; Robert W. Dunning, 'Rural Deans in England in the Fifteenth Century', *BIHR* 40 (1967) pp 207-13.

242. Reg Welton, fols 34r, 37v; see note 196 above.
243. See note 47 above.
244. See note 215 above.
245. Reg Kirkby, fols 148v, 173r, 177r, 186r/v, 195v, 210r, 218v, 219v, 220v, 222r, 226v, 234r, 237v; Reg Welton, fols 4v, 9v, 17v, 35v, 36v, 37r, 43r/v; Reg Appleby, fols 37v-38r, 38r/v, 39v-40r, 88r, 104r/v.
246. Reg Kirkby, fol 213r; Reg Welton, fols 2v, 5r, 21r, 32r; CRO DRC 2/7-25.
247. Reg Welton, fol 11v.
248. This section has been published under the title 'Priests and Patrons in the Fourteenth-Century Diocese of Carlisle', *SCH* 16 (1979) pp 207-18.
249. See Appendix C.
250. Bouch, *Prelates and People*, pp 161-3. The table does not include the chapels of Bramery, Burton, and Solport; *Reg Halton* 1, p 69; 2, p 190; Reg Welton, fols 46v, 53v.
251. J.C. Russell, *British Medieval Population* (Albuquerque, 1948) pp 161-3.
252. J.L. Kirkby, 'Two Tax Accounts of the Diocese of Carlisle', *TCWAAS* ns 52 (1952) pp 70-84, at pp 74-81.
253. *Reg Halton* 1, pp 11-12, 23-7, 37-9, 60, 107-9, 118, 132-4, 183-7, 200-1, 203, 211-13, 221-3, 229-31, 241-7, 249-50, 263-4, 268-70, 272-7, 279-82, 290-2, 304-9, 320, 330-1; 2, pp 24-7, 29-32, 68-70, 73-4, 77, 88-91, 135-8, 140-1, 155, 164, 167-9, 190-1, 201-2, 206-8, 212-13, 217-18, 226-30; Reg Kirkby, fols 122r-124v, 128v-129r, 150v, 155r, 157v-158r, 162v-164r, 166v-168r, 170v-171r, 177v-178v, 182v-183r, 190r/v, 203v, 205r, 207v-209v, 211r-212v, 216r, 226r, 228v-229r, 234v, 239r-240r, 242r-244r, 252r-256v; Reg Welton, fols 63r-64v; Reg Appleby, fols 78r-86v. See the graph at the end of this section.
254. A. Hamilton Thompson, 'The Pestilences of the Fourteenth Century in the Diocese of York', *Archaeological Journal* sec 2, 21 (1914) pp 97-154.
255. See Appendix C.

256. *Reg Halton* 1, pp 200, 263; *Reg Kirkby*, fol 122r.
257. The analysis is based upon the titles given in the extant ordination lists. See note 253 above.
258. *Reg Halton* 2, p 141; *Reg Kirkby*, fols 158r, 226r.
259. *Reg Halton* 1, pp 25, 201, 207, 242, 292, 306; 2, pp 31, 112, 138, 141, 229; *Reg Kirkby*, fols 171r, 205r, 216r, 256v; *Reg Appleby*, fols 81r/v, 82v, 85r.
260. *Reg Halton* 1, pp 107, 132, 223, 273, 292, 305, 321, 331; 2, pp 27, 30, 32, 77, 90, 111, 141, 230; *Reg Kirkby*, fols 123v, 163r, 171r, 190r, 252r/v, 256v; *Reg Appleby*, fols 78v, 79r, 80v, 81v, 82r, 83r/v, 85v.
261. For a discussion of the titles granted in the neighbouring diocese of Durham, see Donaldson, 'Patronage and the Church', pp 375-89. According to his study, ten per cent of the clerks of the diocese of Durham received titles from ecclesiastical sources and eight-five per cent from the laity in the period 1334-45. From 1353 to 1373, about thirty-six per cent were ecclesiastical and sixty per cent lay, and from 1416 to 1436, ninety-six per cent ecclesiastical, four per cent lay.
262. *CIPM*, *passim*. I have in some cases been rather arbitrary in distinguishing between greater and lesser landowners, as it is not possible to determine the value of lands in *CIPM*. The lesser landowners indicated in the table at the end of the section mostly held one manor or less, whereas the majority of greater landowners were knights.
263. *Reg Halton* 2, p 141; *Reg Kirkby*, fols 155r, 171r, 242v.
264. *Reg Halton* 1, pp 201, 222; 2, pp 2, 141, 208; *Reg Kirkby*, fols 124v, 155r, 190r.
265. *Reg Halton* 2, pp 89, 135, 212, 208; *Reg Kirkby*, fols 126r, 130r, 155r, 164r, 226r, 228v, 240r, 242v.
266. See the table at the end of the section.
267. *CIPM* 3, pp 147, 449; 5, pp 215, 299, 302; 6, p 166; 7, pp 243, 401, 475; 9, pp 94, 304, 375; 10, pp 61, 133; 11, pp 87, 245, 256; 15, p 112; 16, p 324; cf ordinations lists.
268. *Reg Halton* 1, p 321; *Reg Kirkby*, fols 184v, 190r, 210r, 242v; *Reg Welton*, fol 21v; *Reg Appleby*, fols 90r, 99r; *Test Karl*, p 77.
269. *Reg Kirkby*, fols 155r, 229r; *Reg Welton*, fol 30v; *Reg Appleby*, fol 13r.

270. *Reg Halton* 1, pp 200, 223, 291, 322; 2, pp 13-14, 30, 145.
271. *Reg Kirkby*, fols 170v; *Reg Welton*, fols 20r, 23v, 33r.
272. *Reg Welton*, fols 13r, 19v, 22r, 33r, 45r, 78v.
273. *Ibid*, fols 9v, 20v, 21r, 23v, 42r.
274. See Appendix C, 'Newbiggin'.

APPENDIX A

EPISCOPAL ITINERARIES

Note:- Entries set off in square brackets give reference to events, mostly parliaments, in which the bishops' participation has been conjectured by reason of their presence in the vicinity around the appropriate dates. Entries marked by an asterisk (*) give reference to events, mostly visitations, for which dates of the bishops' presence had been projected. The itinerary of John Halton presented here differs greatly from that given at the end of the printed edition of his register (2, pp 238-42), which is both incomplete and astonishingly inaccurate.

ITINERARY OF JOHN HALTON, 1292-1324

1292

14 Sep-	York	consecration	<i>Reg Sacrum Anglicanum</i> , p 68
14 Oct-	Berwick		<i>Edward I and the Throne of Scotland</i> 2, pp 198-9
24 Oct-	Berwick		Ibid, p 212
3 Nov-	Berwick		Ibid, p 216
6 Nov-	Berwick		Ibid, p 227
17 Nov-	Berwick	Edward I's final judgement in favour of John Balliol	Ibid, pp 240, 249
19 Nov-	Berwick		Ibid, pp 252-3
20 Nov-	Norham	Balliol's oath of fealty to Edward I	Ibid, p 254
26 Nov-	Newcastle	Balliol's homage to Edward I	Ibid, p 260, 263
31 Dec-	Newcastle		Ibid, p 269

1293

31 Mar-	Rose		<i>Reg Halton</i> 2, p 236
3 Apr-	Rose		Ibid
24 Apr-	London		Ibid

13 May- Westminster		<i>Rot Parl</i> 1, p 105
[c 25 Dec- London	parliament	<i>Handbook</i> , p 510]
30 Dec- Westminster[1]		<i>Reg Halton</i> 1, p 5
1294		
4 Feb- Warcop		<i>Ibid</i>
7 Feb- Bewley		<i>Ibid</i> , p 6
14 Mar- Rose		<i>Ibid</i> , p 29
31 Mar- Linstock		<i>Ibid</i> , p 6
3 Apr- Linstock	ordination	<i>Ibid</i> , p 11
12 Apr- Rose		<i>Ibid</i> , p 7
15 Apr- Carlisle		<i>Ibid</i> , p 9
4 May- London		<i>Ibid</i> , p 7
16 May- Writtle, Essex		<i>Ibid</i> , p 14
29 May- Writtle		<i>Ibid</i> , p 8
[Jun- Westminster	parliament	<i>Handbook</i> , p 511]
1-3 Jun- London		<i>Reg Halton</i> 1, pp 10, 28, 32
14 Jun- London		<i>Ibid</i> 2, p 237
20-2 Jun- London[2]		<i>Ibid</i> 1, pp 14-15; 2, p 237
25 Jun- London		<i>Ibid</i> , p 23
4 Jul- Horncastle		<i>Ibid</i> , p 13
27 Jul- Roxburgh[3]		<i>Ibid</i> , p 16
28 Jul- Kelso		<i>Ibid</i>
1 Aug- Kelso		<i>Ibid</i> , p 17
4-6 Aug- Kelso		<i>Ibid</i> , pp 18-20
8 Aug- Kelso		<i>Ibid</i> , p 20
10 Aug- Kelso		<i>Ibid</i> , p 21

22 Aug-	Linstock		Ibid, p 22
25 Aug-	Linstock		Ibid
10 Oct-	Gedling, Nottinghamshire	consecration of Thomas Dalton, bishop of Whithorn	<i>Reg Romeyn</i> 2, no 1406
18 Dec-	Haltwhistle, Northumberland	ordination	Ibid, p 23
1295			
26 Feb-	Stanwix	ordination	Ibid, p 25
14 Mar-	Rose		Ibid, p 29
15 Apr-	Linstock		Ibid, p 33
17 Apr-	Linstock		Ibid
14 May-	Bewley		Ibid, p 35
28 May-	Appleby		Ibid, p 37
5 Jun-	Bewley		Ibid, p 41
8 Jul-	Jedburgh		Ibid
9 Jul-	Jedburgh		Ibid, p 42
12 Jul-	Jedburgh		Ibid, p 43
14 Jul-	Jedburgh		Ibid, p 44
17 Jul-	Jedburgh		Ibid, pp 13, 45
21 Jul-	Rose		Ibid, p 44
26 Aug-	Horncastle		Ibid, p 54
8 Nov-	Edinburgh	embassy to John Balliol	<i>Northern Regs</i> , pp 119-20
19 Nov-	Linstock		<i>Reg Halton</i> 1, p 55
20 Nov-	Linstock		Ibid, p 56
4 Dec-	Linstock		Ibid, p 57

1296

14 Feb-	Rose		Ibid, p 76
18 Jul-	Carlisle		Ibid, p 74
12 Aug-	Rose		Ibid, p 76
26 Aug-	Tweedmouth		Ibid, p 77
	- Berwick		
3 Sep-	Berwick		Ibid, p 78
24 Sep-	Rose		Ibid, p 87
c 3 Nov-	Bury St Edmunds	parliament	PRO, E 159/70 m 110d
25 Dec-	Leighton Bromswold, Huntingdonshire		Ibid, p 89

1297

14 Feb-	Leighton Bromswold		Ibid, p 41
23 Mar-	Horncastle		Ibid, p 97
25 Jul-	Bewley		Ibid, p 104
23 Aug-	Rose		Ibid, p 105
23 Sep-	Rose		Ibid
11 Nov- 8 Dec-	Carlisle	siege of Carlisle by forces under William Wallace	Ibid, p 179; cf CDS 2, no 628
21 Dec-	Carlisle		Reg Halton 1, p 106

1298

14 Jan-	York	assembly before campaign in Scotland	Guisborough, p 314
7 Mar-	Carlisle		Reg Halton 1, p 112
1 Aug-	Greystoke		Ibid, p 113

8 Sep-	Carlisle		Ibid, p 110
25 Sep-	Carlisle		<i>CChR</i> , 1300-26, p 412
1299			
21 Jan-	Carlisle		<i>Reg Halton</i> 1, p 114
7 Feb-	Rose		Ibid, p 133
11 Aug-	Carlisle		PRO, SC 1/27/17
22 Nov-	Carlisle		<i>Reg Halton</i> 2, p 235
1300			
10 Feb-	Carlisle		Ibid 1, p 166
24/5 Feb-	Carlisle		Ibid, pp 118, 136
12 Apr-	Carlisle		Ibid, p 119
13 May-	Rose		Ibid, p 122
19 Jul-	York		Ibid, p 137
27 Aug-	Rose		Ibid, p 129
7 Sep-	Rose		Ibid
30 Sep-	Carlisle		Ibid, p 131
8 Oct-	Rose		Ibid, p 135
25 Nov-	Rose		PRO, SC 1/27/18
26-7 Dec-	Rose		<i>Reg Halton</i> 1, pp 131-2
1301			
[20-30 Jan-	Lincoln	parliament	<i>Handbook</i> , p 512]
3 Feb-	Lincoln		<i>Reg Halton</i> 1, p 138
15 Feb-	Lincoln		Ibid
18 Mar-	Horncastle	ordination	Ibid, p 134

1 Apr-	Horncastle	ordination	Ibid
16 Apr-	Horncastle		Ibid, p 135
11 Jun-	Cawood, Yorkshire		<i>Reg Corbridge</i> 2, p 128
8 Aug-	Bridekirk		<i>Reg Halton</i> 1, p 162
20 Aug-	Carlisle		Ibid, p 145; 2, p 237
4 Sep-	Apperley, Northumberland		Ibid 1, p 163
7 Oct-	Lanercost		Ibid, p 122
16 Oct-	Rose		Ibid, p 163
5 Nov-	Melbourne		Ibid, p 172
14-15 Nov-	Carlisle		Ibid, p 169

1302

12 Mar-	Horncastle		Ibid, p 122
7 Apr-	Dacre	ordination	Ibid, p 203
16 Apr-	Horncastle		Ibid, p 135
26 Apr-	Horncastle		Ibid, p 171
14 Jul-	London		Ibid, p 205
15 Nov-	Overton, Yorkshire		Ibid, p 177
21 Nov-	Brough	visitation	Ibid, pp 177, 197
7 Dec-	Barton	visitation	Ibid, pp 178, 197
20 Dec-	Carlisle		Ibid, p 214
23 Dec-	Carlisle		Ibid, p 197

1303

12 Jan-	Rose		Ibid, p 215
20 Jan-	Carlisle		Ibid, p 197

26 Jan-	Carlisle		Ibid, p 198
21 Feb-	Carlisle		Ibid, p 182
26 Feb-	Carlisle		Ibid, p 178
2 Mar-	Carlisle	ordination	Ibid, p 183
8 Apr-	Rose		Ibid, p 198
10 Apr-	Rose		Ibid, p 199
5 May-	Rose		Ibid, p 186
7 May-	Rose		Ibid, p 185
1 Jun-	Carlisle	ordination	Ibid, p 186
23 Jul-	Carlisle		Ibid, p 206
24 Aug-	Rose		Ibid, p 207
21 Sep-	Carlisle	ordination	Ibid, p 211
23 Sep-	Carlisle		Ibid, pp 189, 203
2 Oct-	Carlisle		Ibid, p 206
3 Nov-	Rose		Ibid, p 208
21 Dec-	Lazonby	ordination	Ibid, p 213
1304			
14 Feb-	Rose		Ibid, p 216
11 Apr-	Linstock		<i>Reg Holmcultram</i> , no 267b
1 May-	Linstock		<i>Reg Halton</i> 1, p 190
20 Jun-	Rose		Ibid, p 217
24 Jun-	Linstock		Ibid, pp 217-18
20 Aug-	Linstock		Ibid, p 221
21 Aug-	Carlisle		Ibid, p 219
19 Sep-	Carlisle		Ibid, pp 221, 226
24-5 Sep-	Linstock		Ibid, p 218

7 Oct- Rose		Ibid, p 226
23 Dec- Bollington, Cheshire		Ibid, p 227
1305		
28 Jan- Horncastle		Ibid, pp 228-9
[28 Feb- 20 Mar- Westminster	parliament	<i>Handbook</i> , p 513]
13 Mar- London	ordination	<i>Reg Halton</i> 1, p 229
28 Mar- Westminster		<i>Reg Holmcultran</i> , no 267c
31 Mar- Westminster		<i>CCR</i> , 1302-7, p 334; <i>Rot Parl</i> 1, p 173
3 Apr- London	ordination	<i>Reg Halton</i> 1, p 230
5 Apr- Westminster		<i>Rot Parl</i> 1, p 179
17 Apr- London	ordination	<i>Reg Halton</i> 1, p 231
6 Sep- Lichfield		Ibid, p 233
8 Sep- Bosbury, Herefordshire		Ibid, pp 235, 236
- Worcester		
[15 Sep- Westminster	parliament	<i>Handbook</i> , p 513]
30 Sep- London		<i>Reg Halton</i> 1, p 233
2 Dec- Lowther		Ibid, p 238
3 Dec- Barton		Ibid, p 239
18 Dec- Kirkoswald	ordination	Ibid, p 241
1306		
3 Feb- Isel		Ibid, p 247

4 Feb-	Bridekirk		Ibid, p 248
9 Feb-	Aspatia		Ibid, p 248
10 Feb-	Bromfield		Ibid, p 249
26 Feb-	Stanwix	ordination	Ibid, p 246
19 Mar-	Carlisle	ordination	Ibid, p 249
2 Apr-	Newcastle	ordination	Ibid, p 250
5 May-	Rose		Ibid, p 251
28 May-	Carlisle	ordination	Ibid, p 263
30 May-	Carlisle		Ibid
26 Jul-	Rose		Ibid, p 268
28 Aug-	Linstock		Ibid, p 264
24 Sep-	Clifton	ordination	Ibid, p 268
4 Oct-	Lanercost		<i>CChR, 1300-26,</i> p 109
26 Oct-	Rose		<i>Reg Halton 1,</i> p 237
6 Nov-	Carlisle		Ibid, p 271
14 Nov-	Linstock		Ibid, p 240
17 Dec-	Dalston	ordination	Ibid, p 272
1307			
[20 Jan-	19 Mar-	parliament	<i>Handbook, p 513]</i>
	Carlisle		
18 Feb-	Dalston	ordination	<i>Reg Halton 1,</i> p 273
19 Feb-	Rose		Ibid, p 288
11 Mar-	Carlisle	ordination	Ibid, p 275
25 Mar-	Carlisle	ordination	Ibid
12 Apr-	Carlisle		<i>CChR, 1300-26,</i> p 125

23 Apr-	Rose		<i>Reg Halton</i> 1, p 279
19 May-	Rose		<i>Ibid</i> 2, p 143
20 May-	Dalston	ordination	<i>Ibid</i> 1, p 279
25 Jun-	Carlisle		<i>Ibid</i> , p 329
4 Jul-	Rose		<i>Ibid</i> , pp 283, 285
16 Jul-	Rose		<i>Ibid</i> , p 285
22 Jul-	Rose		<i>Ibid</i>
31 Jul-	Rose		<i>Ibid</i> , p 289
23 Sep-	Appleby	ordination	<i>Ibid</i> , p 290
1308			
19 Feb-	Wheathampstead, Hertfordshire		<i>Ibid</i> , p 296
[25 Feb-	Westminster	coronation of Edward II]	
[3 Mar-	Westminster	parliament	<i>Handbook</i> , p 513]
21 Apr-	Meldreth, Cambridgeshire		<i>Reg Halton</i> 1, p 296
[28 Apr-	Westminster	parliament	<i>Handbook</i> , p 513]
11 Jul-	Horncastle		<i>Reg Halton</i> 1, p 297
17-18 Sep-	Rose		<i>Ibid</i> , p 297; 2, pp 34-5
21 Sep-	Dalston	ordination	<i>Ibid</i> 1, p 304
28 Sep-	Rose		<i>Ibid</i> , p 298
1 Oct-	Rose		<i>Ibid</i> , p 301
13 Oct-	Rose		<i>Ibid</i> , p 300
1309			
22 Feb-	Rose	ordination	<i>Ibid</i> , p 307
15 Mar-	Carlisle	ordination	<i>Ibid</i> , p 308

5 Apr- Rose		Ibid, p 314
17 Apr- Rose		Ibid, p 315
19 Apr- Carlisle		Ibid, pp 314-5
- Rose		
25 Apr- Rose		Ibid, p 316
7 May- Rose		Ibid, p 320
24 May- Stanwix	ordination	Ibid, p 320, 322
- Linstock		
30 May- Linstock		Ibid, p 322
3 Aug- Rose		Ibid, pp 323-4
7 Sep- Rose		Ibid, p 325
20 Sep- Dalston	ordination	Ibid, p 330
12 Oct- Brunton, Northumberland	convocation	Ibid 2, p 1
26 Nov- Rose		Ibid, p 10
1310		
15 Jan- Linstock		Ibid, p 13
18 Feb- Rose		Ibid, p 14
26 Mar- Wetheral		Ibid, p 15
4 Apr- Appleby	ordination	Ibid, p 28
20 May- York	provincial council: process against the Templars	<i>Councils & Synods</i> 2:2, p 1282; <i>Reg</i> <i>Halton</i> 2, p 17
- Acomb, Yorkshire		
10 Jun- Melbourne		Ibid, p 18
23 Aug- York		Ibid, p 236
9 Sep- London		Ibid, p 18
16-17 Nov- Rose		Ibid, pp 19-20
19 Dec- Kirkoswald	ordination	Ibid, pp 24-5

25 Dec-	Rose		Ibid, p 29
1311			
5 Jan-	Rose		Ibid, p 24
6 Mar-	Carlisle	ordination	Ibid, pp 29-30
27 Mar-	Bridekirk	ordination	Ibid, p 31
24-28 May-	York	provincial council: process against the Templars	<i>Councils & Synods</i> 2:2, pp 1329-33
30 May-	York	consecration of Richard Kellaw, bishop of Durham	<i>Reg Greenfield</i> 5, no 2546
31 May-	Acomb		<i>Reg Halton</i> 2, p 37
17 Jul-	Horncastle		Ibid, p 39
[16 Oct-	Vienne	opening of the council of Vienne	Hefele, <i>Histoire des Conciles</i> , 6:2, pp 744-51
26 Nov-	St Symphorien, near Vienne		<i>Reg Halton</i> 2, pp 38, 40, 72
1312			
3 Mar-	Wigton		Ibid, p 73
20 Sep-	Warthill, Yorkshire		Ibid, p 65
25 Sep-	Melbourne		Ibid, p 62
14 Nov-	Rose		Ibid, p 71
21 Dec-	Rose		Ibid, p 66
23 Dec-	Dalston	ordination	Ibid, p 68
1313			
10 Jan-	Rose		Ibid, p 67
14 Jan-	Rose		Ibid, pp 70-1

10 Feb- Evenwood, co. Durham		Ibid, p 85
26 Feb- Brough		Ibid, p 83
10 Mar- Penrith	ordination	Ibid, p 73
18 Mar- Bewley		Ibid, p 76
14 Apr- Rose	ordination	Ibid, p 77
29 May- Horncastle		Ibid, p 79
9 Jun- Appleby	ordination	Ibid, p 90
[8-27 Jul- Westminster	parliament	<i>Handbook</i> , p 514]
10 Jul- Ware, Hertfordshire		<i>Reg Halton</i> 2, p 79
11 Jul- London		Ibid
21 Aug- Horncastle		<i>Reg Greenfield</i> 5, no 2574
20 Nov- Horncastle		<i>Reg Halton</i> 1, p 241; 2, p 81
1314		
2 Jan- Horncastle		Ibid 2, p 56
17 Feb- Lincoln		PRO, SC 8/235/ 11732
25-6 Feb- Brough		<i>Reg Halton</i> 2, pp 83, 86
23 Mar- Carlisle	ordination	Ibid, p 88
24 Mar- Carlisle		Ibid, p 87
4 Apr- Carlisle		Ibid 1, p 241
6 Apr- Carlisle	ordination	Ibid 2, p 91
19 Apr- Carlisle		Ibid, p 97
23 Apr- Carlisle		Ibid, p 96
7 Jun- Carlisle		Ibid, p 98
15 Jun- Carlisle		Ibid
4 Jul- Kirby Stephen		Ibid, p 100

1315		
15 Jan-	Melbourne	Ibid, p 231
26 Mar-	Horncastle	Ibid, p 100-2
20 Apr-	Horncastle	Ibid, p 103
30 May-	Horncastle	Ibid, p 104
27 Aug-	Horncastle	Ibid, p 109
31 Aug-	Long Sutton, Lincolnshire (?)	Ibid, p 236
23 Nov-	Meldreth	Ibid, p 109
25 Nov-	Meldreth	Ibid, p 111
30 Dec-	Horncastle	Ibid, p 112
1316		
4 Jan-	Horncastle	Ibid
22 Jan-	Horncastle	<i>Northern Regs,</i> p 253
[27 Jan- 20 Feb-	parliament Lincoln	<i>Handbook,</i> p 515]
2 Feb-	Carlton, Lincolnshire	<i>Reg Halton 2,</i> pp 115, 117
5-6 Feb-	Carlton	Ibid, p 116
22 May-	Ticknall, Derbyshire	Ibid, p 120
28 May-	Ticknall	Ibid, p 122
[7 Jun-	York convocation	<i>Handbook,</i> p 554]
7 Jun-	Bishopsthorpe, Yorkshire	<i>Reg Halton 2,</i> p 123
2 Aug-	Cawood	Ibid, p 124
9 Sep-	Horncastle	Ibid, pp 124-5
23 Sep-	Cowick, Yorkshire	Ibid, pp 125-6
8 Oct-	Carlisle	Ibid, p 127

13 Oct-	Carlisle		Ibid, p 126
18 Oct-	Carlisle		Ibid, p 129
24 Oct-	Carlisle		Ibid, p 127
9 Nov-	Carlisle		Ibid, p 131
23 Nov-	York	convocation	<i>Reg Greenfield</i> 5, no 2811
18 Dec-	Carlisle	ordination	<i>Reg Halton</i> 2, p 136
1317			
8 Jan-	Carlisle		Ibid, p 132
22-3 Jan-	Carlisle		Ibid, pp 132-4
26 Feb-	Carlisle	ordination	Ibid, p 138
19 Mar-	Carlisle	ordination	Ibid, p 140
2 Apr-	Carlisle	ordination	Ibid, p 135
21 May-	Horncastle		Ibid, p 146
27 May-	Horncastle		Ibid
5 Jun-	Horncastle		Ibid, p 144
17 Jun-	Horncastle		Ibid, p 145
29 Jun-	Horncastle		Ibid
27 Oct-	Durham		Ibid, p 152
3 Nov-	Durham		Ibid
12 Dec-	Durham		Ibid, p 154
17 Dec-	Durham	ordination	Ibid, p 155
30 Dec-	Durham		Ibid, p 154
1318			
8 Apr-	Horncastle	ordination	Ibid, p 164
5 May-	Horncastle		Ibid, p 171

17 Jun- Foulmire, Cambridgeshire	ordination	Ibid, p 167
26-7 Jun- Meldreth		Ibid, pp 167, 169
2 Jul- Horncastle		Ibid, p 170
8-9 Sep- Melbourne		Ibid, pp 172, 174
12 Sep- Melbourne		Ibid, p 172
15 Sep- Melbourne		Ibid, p 173
[20 Oct- 9 Dec- York	parliament	<i>Handbook</i> , p 516]
22 Nov- York		<i>Reg Halton 2</i> , p 178
5-6 Dec- Horncastle		Ibid, pp 177, 179
1319		
12 Jan- Horncastle		Ibid, p 180
[20 Jan- York	convocation	<i>Handbook</i> , p 554]
31 Jan- Bowes, Yorkshire		<i>Reg Halton 2</i> , p 181
21 Feb- York		Ibid, p 180
4 Mar- York		Ibid, p 183
[19 Mar- York	convocation	<i>Handbook</i> , p 554]
6 May- York	parliament	Cole, <i>Docs</i> , p 12
6 Aug- Carlisle		<i>Reg Halton 2</i> , p 190
22 Sep- Carlisle	ordination	Ibid
24 Sep- Carlisle		Ibid, p 196
25 Oct- Carlisle		Ibid, p 197
18 Nov- Carlisle		Ibid, p 198
9 Dec- Aberford, Yorkshire		Ibid

1320

10 Jan-	Melbourne		Ibid, p 232
15 Feb-	Melbourne		Ibid, p 200
6 Mar-	Melbourne		Ibid
11 Aug-	Rose		Ibid, p 200
17 Aug-	Rose		Ibid, p 201
20 Sep-	Dalston	ordination	Ibid
25 Sep-	Rose		Ibid, p 203
29 Sep-	Carlisle	peace negotiations with the Scots	<i>CCR, 1318-23,</i> p 328
21 Oct-	Morland		<i>Reg Halton 2,</i> p 223
24 Oct-	Dacre		Ibid, p 222
29 Nov-	Salkeld		Ibid, p 203
26 Dec-	Rose		Ibid, pp 203-4

1321

26 Jan-	Linstock		Ibid, p 204
c 2 Feb-	c 25 Mar-	peace negotiations	<i>CDS 3, no 743;</i>
	Newcastle	with the Scots	<i>Anglo-Scottish</i> <i>Relations,</i> no 38(h)
26 Mar-	c 8 Apr-	peace negotiations	Ibid
	Bamburgh	with the Scots	
3 Feb-	Newcastle		<i>Reg Halton 2,</i> p 205
18 Apr-	Linstock	ordination	Ibid, p 206
4 May-	Linstock		Ibid, p 223
18 Jun-	Carlisle		Ibid, p 232
28 Jun-	Sherburn-	assembly called by	<i>Flores 3, p 197;</i>
	in-Elmet	the earl of Lancaster	<i>Bridlington, p 62</i>

1322

10 Apr-	Carlisle	ordination	<i>Reg Halton 2,</i> p 212
28 Apr-	Morland		<i>Ibid,</i> p 235
14 Jun-	Westminster		<i>Rot Parl 1,</i> p 391
27 Jun-	Hailes abbey, Gloucestershire	consecration of Roger Northburgh, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield	<i>Reg Sacrum Anglicanum,</i> p 70
6 Jul-	Horncastle		<i>Reg Halton 2,</i> p 214
8 Jul-	Horncastle		<i>Ibid,</i> p 215
19 Jul-	Horncastle		<i>Ibid,</i> p 216
26 Sep-	Horncastle		<i>Ibid,</i> p 224
3 Nov-	Horncastle		<i>Ibid,</i> p 232
1 Dec-	Horncastle		<i>Ibid,</i> p 222
18 Dec-	Horncastle	ordination	<i>Ibid,</i> p 217

1323

31 Jan-	Horncastle		<i>Ibid,</i> p 218
15 Feb-	Horncastle		<i>Ibid,</i> p 219
19 Feb-	Horncastle	ordination	<i>Ibid,</i> p 218
12 Mar-	Horncastle	ordination	<i>Ibid,</i> p 220
23 Mar-	Horncastle		<i>Ibid,</i> p 226
3 Apr-	Horncastle		<i>Ibid,</i> p 221
15 Apr-	Horncastle		<i>Ibid,</i> p 224
7 Jun-	Horncastle		<i>Ibid,</i> p 223

1324

24 Jan-	Horncastle		<i>Ibid,</i> pp 224-5
17 Feb-	Horncastle		<i>Ibid,</i> pp 225, 233

31 Mar-	Horncastle	ordination	Ibid, p 226
14 Apr-	Horncastle	ordination	Ibid, p 228
9 Jun-	Stanwix	ordination	Ibid, p 229
12 Jun-	Linstock		Ibid, p 209
17 Jul-	Linstock		Ibid
30 Jul-	Rose		Ibid, p 210
1 Nov-	Rose	death	Lanercost, p 253

Notes

1. The entry, a mandate to the official to hold an inquest into a vacancy following a presentation, is dated 'iiij kalendas Novembris' (30 October), but 'iiij kalendas Januarii' (30 December) must be the correct date, as the presentation itself was dated 14 December and institution was made on 4 February 1294.
2. The entry printed on p 15 notes that the bishop received a letter from the king in London on 'xii kalendas Junii' (21 May), but 'xii kalendas Julii' (20 June) must be the correct date, as the king's letter is dated 16 June.
3. The month is not legible, but the probable date is 'vj kalendas Augusti' (27 July), when the bishop was in the region.

ITINERARY OF JOHN ROSS, 1325-1332

1325

24 Feb- Avignon	consecration	<i>Lanercost</i> , p 253
22 Aug- Horncastle		<i>Reg Melton</i> 1, no 267
30 Aug- Bishop Burton, Yorkshire	profession of obedience	<i>Ibid</i> , no 270

1327

8 Jan- Westminster	'deposition parliament'	<i>Historia Roffensis</i> , p 367
13 Jan- London	Guildhall oath	<i>Ibid</i>
1 Feb- Westminster	consecration of Simon Wedale, bishop of Whithorn; [coronation of Edward III]	<i>Reg Sacrum Anglicanum</i> , p 73

1329

28 Jun- Linstock		<i>Reg Melton</i> 1, no 298
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1330

7 Jan- Rose		YBI, CP E 22
3 Mar- Rose		PRO, SC 10/13/638
16 Jun- Dalston	ordination	<i>Reg Ross</i> , fol 139r
22 Jun- Rose		<i>Ibid</i> , fol 131r
7 Sep- Horncastle		<i>Ibid</i> , fol 135v
6 Oct- Horncastle		<i>Ibid</i> , fol 131r
14 Nov- Horncastle		PRO, SC 10/13/664
8 Dec- Stallingborough, Lincolnshire		<i>Reg Ross</i> , fol 130r

9 Dec- Somerby, Lincolnshire	Ibid
27 Dec- Horncastle	Ibid
29 Dec- Horncastle	Ibid
1331	
1 Jan- Horncastle	Reg Ross, fol 130r
3 Jan- Horncastle	Ibid
11 Jan- Grantham, Lincolnshire	Ibid, fol 130v
16 Jan- London	Ibid
22-3 Jan- London	Ibid, fols 130v, 131r
1 Feb- London	Ibid, fol 131v
13 Feb- Cuxton, Kent	Ibid, fol 132r
18 Feb- Cuxton	Ibid
24 Feb- Cuxton	Ibid, fol 137r
1 Mar- Cuxton	Ibid, fol 132r
3 Mar- Cuxton	Ibid
8 Mar- Cuxton	Ibid
18 Mar- London	Ibid, fol 133r
23 Mar- London	Ibid
10 Apr- London	Ibid
23-4 Apr- London	Ibid, fol 133r/v
29 Apr- London	Ibid, fol 133v
1 May- London	Ibid, fol 134r
3-4 May- London	Ibid

15 May- Swineshead, Lincolnshire		Ibid
16 May- Horncastle		Ibid, fol 134v
18-19 May- Horncastle		Ibid, fols 134v, 135r
3 Jun- Horncastle		Ibid, fol 135v
22 Jun- Melbourne		Ibid, fol 135r
13 Jul- Melbourne		Ibid, fol 136r
15 Jul- Melbourne		Ibid, fol 136v
15-16 Aug- Melbourne		Ibid, fol 137v, 139r
3-4 Sep- Melbourne		Ibid, fol 138r/v
14 Oct- London		Ibid, fol 139v
12 Nov- Melbourne		Ibid
28 Dec- Melbourne		Ibid, fol 140v
30 Dec- Melbourne		Ibid, fol 140r
1332		
2 Jan- Melbourne		Ibid
ante 4 May- ?	death	CFR, 1327-37, p 312

ITINERARY OF JOHN KIRKBY, 1332-1352

1332

19 Jul- Bishop Bur-	consecration	<i>Reg Melton</i> 1,
ton, Yorkshire		nos 310, 359
27 Jul- Carlisle		<i>Reg Kirkby</i> ,
		fol 124r
31 Jul- Linstock		<i>Ibid</i>
14 Sep- Ecclestone,		<i>Ibid</i> , fol 125v
Lancashire		
19 Oct- Lingcroft		<i>Ibid</i> , fol 124r
near York		
23 Oct- Lingcroft		<i>PRO</i> , C 270/8/4
25 Nov- Kirkoswald		<i>Reg Kirkby</i> ,
		fol 122r
11 Dec- York	parliament	<i>Rot Parl</i> 2,
		pp 67-8
19 Dec- Appleby	ordination	<i>Reg Kirkby</i> ,
		fol 122r

1333

16 Feb- Carlisle		<i>Ibid</i> , fol 142r
27 Feb- Carlisle	ordination	<i>Ibid</i> , fol 122v
1 Mar- Carlisle		<i>Ibid</i> , fol 128v
20 Mar- Carlisle	ordination	<i>Ibid</i> , fol 123v
22 Mar- Carlisle		<i>Ibid</i> , fol 124v
1-2 Apr- Carlisle		<i>Ibid</i>
3 Apr- Carlisle	ordination	<i>Ibid</i> , fol 123v
29 May- Carlisle	ordination	<i>Ibid</i>
12-13 Jul- Carlisle		<i>Ibid</i> , fol 125r
6 Aug- Rose		<i>Ibid</i> , fol 125v
10 Sep- Rose		<i>Ibid</i> , fol 144v
14 Sep- Rose		<i>Ibid</i> , fol 129r

18 Sep-	Dalston	ordination	Ibid, fol 128v
30 Sep-	Rose		Ibid, 143v
9 Oct-	Carlisle		<i>Reg Melton</i> 1, no 350
10 Oct-	Rose		<i>Reg Kirkby</i> , fol 150r
14 Nov-	York	consecration of Robert Graystones, bishop of Durham	<i>Bridlington</i> , p 118
24-5 Nov-	Horncastle		<i>Reg Kirkby</i> , fol 154r
8 Dec-	Horncastle		Ibid, fol 148v
10 Dec-	Horncastle		Ibid, fol 154v
18 Dec-	Horncastle	ordination	Ibid, fol 155r
1334			
2-3 Jan-	Horncastle		Ibid, fols 147v, 150r
12 Jan-	Horncastle		Ibid, fol 150r
28 Jan-	Melbourne		Ibid, fol 148r
12 Feb-	York		Ibid, fol 148v
[21 Feb- 2 Mar-	York	parliament	<i>Handbook</i> , p 519]
10 Mar-	Lingcroft		<i>Reg Kirkby</i> , fol 149v
24 Mar-	Durham		Ibid, fol 149r/v
26 Mar-	Durham	ordination	Ibid, fol 150v
26-7 Mar-	Fittington, co Durham		Ibid, fols 145v, 149v, 150v
14 Apr-	Melbourne		Ibid, fol 155r
20 Apr-	Melbourne		Ibid
26 Apr-	Melbourne		Ibid, fol 144r
1 May-	Melbourne		Ibid

17 May-	Melbourne		Ibid, fol 145r
25 May-	Rose		Ibid, fol 170v
12 Jun-	Newcastle	witness to Edward Balliol's cession of Scottish lowland territories to the English crown	<i>Foedera</i> 2:2, p 888
14 Jun-	Newcastle		Reg Kirkby, fol 144v; PRO, C 85/195/5
10 Jul-	Rose		Reg Kirkby, fol 146r
12 Jul-	Rose		Ibid, fols 144v, 162v
	- Penrith		
6-7 Aug-	Horncastle		Ibid, fol 146v
[19-23 Sep-	Westminster	parliament	<i>Handbook</i> , p 519]
25 Sep-	London		Reg Kirkby, fol 151r
10-11 Oct-	London		Ibid, fol 151v
29 Oct-	Horncastle		Ibid, fol 152r
31 Oct-	Horncastle		Ibid, fol 153v
1-2 Nov-	Horncastle		Ibid, fols 146r, 152r, 157r
5 Nov-	Horncastle		Ibid, fol 152v
12 Nov-	Horncastle		Ibid, fol 151v
15 Nov-	Horncastle		Ibid, fol 156r
10 Dec-	Horncastle		Ibid, fol 157v
12 Dec-	Rose		Ibid
17 Dec-	Corbridge	ordination	Ibid
1335			
1 Jan-	Rose		Ibid, fol 159r
3 Jan-	Rose		Ibid

7 Jan- Rose		Ibid, fol 159r/v
18 Jan- Rose		Ibid, fol 160r
24 Jan- Carlisle		Ibid, fol 159v
28 Jan- Carlisle		Ibid, fols 159v, 160r
7 Feb- Rose		Ibid, fol 160v
24 Feb- Rose		Ibid, fols 161v, 162v
10-11 Mar- Rose		Ibid, fols 161v, 162r
26-7 Mar- Rose		Ibid, fol 162v
1 Apr- Dalston	ordination	Ibid
15 Apr- Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 163r
7 Jun- York	parliament	<i>CPR, 1334-8,</i> pp 129-30
12 Jun- Rose	,	Reg Kirkby, fol 163v
23 Sep- Corbridge	ordination	Ibid
23 Dec- Stoney Staunton, Leicestershire	ordination	Ibid, fol 164r
1336		
5 Jan- Melbourne		Ibid, fol 164v
28 Jan- Melbourne		Ibid, fol 164r
23 Feb- Melbourne		Ibid, fols 165r, 166v
- Nottingham	ordination	
2 Apr- Melbourne		Ibid, fol 169r
9 Apr- Aberford, Yorkshire		Ibid, fol 169v
29 Apr- Rose		Ibid

8 May- Carlisle*	visitation of the cathedral chapter and the diocese	Ibid, fol 169r
9 May- Rose		Ibid, fol 170r
10 May- Carlisle	visitation of the diocese	Ibid
25 May- Dalston	ordination	Ibid, fol 170v
1 Jun- Rose		Ibid, fol 171v
9 Jun- Rose		Ibid, fol 172v
12 Jun- Bewley		Ibid, fol 173r
17 Jun- Kirkby Thore		Ibid, fol 172r
20 Jun- Shap		Ibid
21 Jun- Morland		Ibid, fol 172v
24-5 Jun- Rose		Ibid, fol 171v
6 Jul- Rose		Ibid, fol 172v
16 Aug- Rose		Ibid, fol 173r
[23-7 Sep- Nottingham	parliament	<i>Handbook</i> , p 519]
28 Sep- Nottingham		Reg Kirkby, fol 174v
12 Oct- Rose		Ibid, fol 186r
18 Oct- Bretby, Derbyshire		Ibid, fol 176v
22 Oct- Rose		Ibid, fol 174v
5 Nov- Carlisle - Bewley		Ibid, fols 173r, 175v
17 Nov- York		Ibid, fols 176r, 177r
19 Nov- York		Ibid, fol 176r
5 Dec- Horncastle		Ibid, fol 175v
21 Dec- Horncastle	ordination	Ibid, fol 177v

1337

8 Jan-	Horncastle		Ibid, fol 179r
19 Feb-	Horncastle		Ibid, fol 179v
7 Apr-	York		Ibid, fol 180v
19 Apr-	Durham	ordination	Ibid, fol 182v
23-4 Apr-	Bewley		Ibid, fols 180r, 182r
2 May-	Rose		Ibid, fol 183r/v
14 Jun-	[Carlisle?]	ordination	Ibid, fol 190r
26 Jun-	Carlisle		Ibid, fol 184v
28 Jun-	Carlisle		Ibid, fol 184r
30 Jun-	Carlisle		Ibid
1 Jul-	Carlisle		Ibid, fol 184v
4 Jul-	Carlisle		Ibid, fol 186v
20 Aug-	Carlisle		Ibid, fol 186r
23-4 Aug-	Carlisle		Ibid, fols 185v, 186r
27 Aug-	Carlisle		Ibid, fol 186v
18 Nov-	Rose		Ibid, fol 187r
22 Nov-	Carlisle		Ibid
3 Dec-	Bewley		Ibid, fol 187v
20 Dec-	Morland	ordination	Ibid, fol 190r
24 Dec-	Carlisle		Ibid, fol 190v

1338

[c 26 Mar]-	Alnwick		Ibid, fol 192Ar
22 Jun-	York		Ibid, fol 60r; PRO, C 85/195/1
27 Jun-	Melbourne		PRO, SC 8/235/ 11704

[26 Jul- 2 Aug- Northampton	parliament	<i>Handbook</i> , p 521]
1 Aug- Northampton		PRO, C 85/195/2
3 Aug- Melbourne		Reg Kirkby, fol 199r
17 Aug- Melbourne		Ibid, fol 193v
31 Aug- Oxford		Ibid, fol 192Bv
18 Oct- Rose		Ibid, fol 193r
19-21 Oct- Carlisle*	visitation of the deanery of Carlisle	Ibid
26 Oct- Linstock		Ibid, fols 193v, 195r
27 Oct- Rose		Ibid, fol 195v
13 Nov- Rose		Ibid, fol 196r
19 Dec- Horncastle	ordination	Ibid, fol 202v
1339		
8 Jan- Melbourne		Ibid, fol 198v
14 Feb- Horncastle		Ibid, fol 201v
17 Feb- Horncastle		Ibid, fol 202v
20 Feb- Horncastle		PRO, C 85/195/3
29 Mar- London		Reg Kirkby, fol 218r
8 Apr- Melbourne		Ibid, fol 202v
20-1 May- Horncastle		Ibid, fol 203v; PRO, SC 1/38/89
22 May- Horncastle	ordination	Reg Kirkby, fol 203v
10 Jun- Carlisle		Ibid, fol 204r
8 Jul- Carlisle		Ibid
15 Sep- Carlisle		Ibid, fol 216r

18 Sep- Carlisle	ordination	Ibid, fol 205r
11 Oct- Stamford, Lincolnshire		Ibid, fol 206r
13 Oct- Westminster	parliament	<i>Rot Parl</i> 2, p 100
26 Nov- Horncastle		Reg Kirkby, fol 205v
5 Dec- Horncastle		Ibid, fol 206v
18 Dec- Horncastle		Ibid, fol 207v
1340		
24 Mar- London		Ibid, fol 208r
29 Mar- Westminster	parliament	<i>CPR</i> , 1338-40, pp 512-16; <i>Rot Parl</i> 2, pp 112-13
1 Apr- London	ordination	Reg Kirkby, fol 208v
15 Apr-[London?]	ordination	Ibid, fol 209v
18 Apr- London		Ibid, fol 210r
10 Jun- Darlington	ordination	Ibid, fol 211r
19 Jul- Carlisle		YBI, CP E 46
15-16 Sep- Rose		Reg Kirkby, fol 212r
23 Sep- Rose		Ibid, fol 212v
13 Oct- Rose		Ibid, fol 213r
9 Nov- Rose		Ibid, fol 213v
1341		
4 Feb- Horncastle	ordination	Ibid, fol 216r
6 Feb- Horncastle		Ibid, fol 214v
3 Mar- Carlisle	ordination	Ibid, fol 216r
5 Apr- Melbourne		Ibid, fol 214r
6 Apr- Melbourne		Ibid, fol 215v

9 Apr- Melbourne		Ibid, fol 214r
20-1 Apr- Melbourne		Ibid, fol 215v; PRO, C 85/195/7
23 Apr- London*	parliament	Reg Kirkby, fol 215v
27 Jun- Melbourne		Ibid, fol 219r
7 Jul- Melbourne		Ibid, fol 218r
19-20 Nov- Rose		Ibid, fols 219v, 220v
1-2 Dec- Rose		Ibid, fol 221r
6 Dec- Carlisle		Ibid
16 Dec- Rose		Ibid
18 Dec- Rose		Ibid, fol 222r
22 Dec- Dalston	ordination	Ibid, fol 226r
1342		
11 Jan- Rose		Ibid, fol 217Ar
14 Feb- Rose		Ibid, fol 227v
19 Feb- Rose		Ibid
23 Feb- Dalston	ordination	Ibid, fol 228v
24 Feb- Rose		Ibid, fol 228r
3 Mar- Rose		Ibid
27 Mar- Bewley		Ibid, fol 229r
30 Mar- Bewley		Ibid
5 Apr- Rose		Ibid, fol 230v
9 Apr- Rose		Ibid, fol 231v
18 Apr- Rose		Ibid, fol 234r
22 Apr- Rose		Ibid, fol 229r/v
7 May- Dalston		Ibid, fol 235v

7-9 May- Rose		Ibid, fols 232v, 233r
18 May- Westminster		PRO, E 101/68/3, no 58
25 May- Carlisle	ordination	Reg Kirkby, fol 234v
7 Jun- Carlisle		Ibid, fol 233v
24 Jun- Rose		Ibid, fol 234v
25 Jul- Carlisle		Ibid
30 Jul- Carlisle		Ibid, fol 235r
15 Sep- Carlisle		Ibid, fol 236v
4 Oct- Carlisle		Ibid, fol 235v
21 Dec- Doncaster	ordination	Ibid, fol 239r
1343		
8 Feb- London		Ibid
15 Feb- London		Ibid, fol 238v
17 Feb- London		Ibid, fol 237v
18 Mar- Melbourne		Ibid, fol 238r
27 Apr- Westminster	parliament	<i>Rot Parl</i> 2, p 135
8 Sep- Carlisle	ordination	Reg Kirkby, fol 240v
3 Oct- Carlisle		Ibid, fol 241r
22 Oct- Carlisle		Ibid
25 Oct- Carlisle		Ibid, fol 241v
30 Oct- Carlisle		Ibid
1344		
3 May- Carlisle		PRO, C 85/195/9
7 Jun- London		Reg Kirkby, fol 246v

8, 10 Jun-	Westminster	parliament	<i>Rot Parl</i> 2, pp 146-8
18 Jun-	London		<i>Reg Kirkby</i> , fol 246v
24 Jun-	Westminster	parliament	<i>Rot Parl</i> 2, p 148
20 Aug-	Carlisle		<i>Reg Kirkby</i> , fol 249v
18 Sep-	Carlisle	ordination	<i>Ibid</i> , fol 244r
29 Sep-	Carlisle		<i>Ibid</i> , fol 247r
10-11 Oct-	Carlisle		<i>Ibid</i> , fol 248v, 249v
23 Oct-	Carlisle		<i>Ibid</i> , fol 244r
6 Nov-	Carlisle		PRO, C 85/195/8
8 Nov-	Carlisle*	visitation of the cathedral chapter	<i>Reg Kirkby</i> , fol 244r
22 Nov-	Carlisle		<i>Ibid</i> , fol 244v
25 Nov-	Horncastle		<i>Ibid</i>
10 Dec-	Carlisle		<i>Ibid</i>
1345			
1 Feb-	Carlisle		<i>Ibid</i> , fol 245r
15 Feb-	Lanercost	visitation of the prior and canons	<i>Ibid</i>
26 Mar-	Carlisle	ordination	<i>Ibid</i> , fol 242r
2-3 Apr-	Bewley		<i>Ibid</i> , fols 242r, 245v
21 May-	Carlisle	ordination	<i>Ibid</i> , fol 242v
4 Jun-	Carlisle		<i>Ibid</i> , fol 250r
8 Jun-	Carlisle		<i>Ibid</i> , fol 243r
23 Jun-	Carlisle		<i>Ibid</i>
11 Jul-	Carlisle		<i>Ibid</i> , fol 250r
16 Jul-	Carlisle		<i>Ibid</i> , fol 250v

31 Jul- Carlisle	skirmish between the citizens of Carlisle and the bishop and his garrison	<i>CPR, 1345-8, p 83</i>
5 Nov- Bewley		Reg Kirkby, fol 251r
17 Dec- Stanton near Swarkeston, Derbyshire	ordination	<i>Ibid, fol 252r</i>
1346		
10 Feb- Melbourne		<i>Ibid, fol 251r</i>
5 Mar- Melbourne		<i>Ibid, fol 252r</i>
1 Apr- Breedon on the Hill, Leicestershire	ordination	<i>Ibid, fol 252v</i>
19 Apr- Melbourne		<i>Ibid</i>
6 Jun- Breedon on the Hill	ordination	<i>Ibid, fol 253r</i>
18 Aug- Horncastle		<i>Ibid, fol 255r</i>
23 Dec- Newark, Nottinghamshire	ordination	<i>Ibid, fol 255v</i>
1347		
26 May- Dalston	ordination	<i>Ibid, fol 256v</i>
3 Jun- Rose		<i>Ibid, fol 244r</i>
1351		
[9 Feb- 1 Mar- Westminster	parliament	<i>Handbook, p 523]</i>
11 Mar- London		<i>PRO, C 85/195/10</i>
18 May- York	convocation	<i>Records of the Northern Convoca- tion, p 87.</i>

1352

9 Aug- Appleby

PRO, SC 10/26/
1262

23 Nov- ?

death

PRO, E 372/198,
m 38d; SC 6/1144/
14

ITINERARY OF GILBERT WELTON, 1353-1362

1353

21 Apr-	Avignon	consecration	Reg Welton, fol 1r
10 Jul-	York		Ibid, fol 1r
12 Jul-	York		Ibid, fols 1r, 53r
4 Sep-	York		Ibid, fols 1r, 53v
7 Sep-	York		Ibid, fol 53v
11 Sep-	York		Ibid, fol 1r
[23 Sep-12 Oct-	Westminster	parliament	<i>Handbook</i> , p 524]
6 Oct-	London		Reg Welton, fol 53v
14 Nov-	York		Ibid, fol 54r
30 Nov-	Eaton, Nottinghamshire		Ibid, fol 1r

1354

4 Feb-	Eaton		Ibid, fol 1v
31 Feb-	Rose		Ibid; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 3
1 Mar-	Rose		Reg Welton, fol 2r
3-4 Mar-	Rose		Ibid, fols 1v, 2r
8 Mar-	Dalston	ordination	Ibid, fol 63r
11 Mar-	Rose		Ibid, fol 2r
13 Mar-	Rose		Ibid
23 Mar-	Rose		Ibid, fol 54r
26 Mar-	Rose		Ibid, fol 2v

29 Mar- Rose	ordination	Ibid, fols 2v, 63r; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 5
3-4 Apr-Carlisle		Reg Welton, fol 54r/v
7-8 Apr- Rose		Ibid, fol 54v
12 Apr- Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 63r
19 Apr- Rose		Ibid, fol 55r
21 Apr- Rose		Ibid
25 Apr- Rose		Ibid, fol 3r
21 Jun- Rose		Ibid, fol 3v
20 Jul- Rose		Ibid, fol 55r
22-4 Jul- Rose		Ibid, fols 3v, 4r
28 Jul- Rose		Ibid, fol 4r
3 Aug- Rose		Ibid, fol 55v
5 Aug- Rose		Ibid, fol 4r
6 Aug- Rose		Ibid, fol 55v
12 Aug- Rose		Ibid, fol 4r
10 Sep- Rose		Ibid, fol 4v
13 Sep- Rose		Ibid, fol 5r
15 Sep- Rose		Ibid, fols 4v, 56v
17 Sep- Rose		Ibid, fol 4v
20 Sep- Rose		Ibid
24 Sep- Rose		Ibid, fol 5r
30 Sep- Rose		Ibid, fol 57r
3 Oct- Rose		Ibid, fol 5r
7 Oct- Rose		Ibid
12 Oct- Rose		Ibid, fol 5v
18 Oct- Rose		Ibid

20 Oct- Rose		Ibid, fol 5r
22 Oct- Rose		Ibid, fol 5v
23 Oct- Thursby		Ibid, fol 57r
26-7 Oct- Rose		Ibid, fols 5v, 57v
30 Oct- Rose		Ibid, fol 5v
30 Nov- Rose		Ibid, fols 5v, 57v
7 Dec- Rose		Ibid, fol 6v
10 Dec- Rose		Ibid, fol 8r
15 Dec- Rose		Ibid, fol 7r
20 Dec- Dalston	ordination	Ibid, fols 7v, 63v
24 Dec- Rose		Ibid, fol 57v
26 Dec- Rose		Ibid
31 Dec- Rose		Ibid, fol 7v
1355		
15-16 Jan- Rose		Ibid
20 Jan- Rose		Ibid, fol 58r
27 Jan- Rose		Ibid, fol 8r
31 Jan- Rose		Ibid
5 Feb- Rose		Ibid
16 Feb- Rose		Ibid, fol 8v
10 Mar- Rose		Ibid; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 7
13 Mar- Rose		Reg Welton, fol 9r
3 Apr- Rose		Ibid, fol 58r
20 Apr- Rose		Ibid, fol 9v
2 May- Rose		Ibid, fol 11v

12 May- Rose	Ibid, fol 58r
11 Jun- Rose	Ibid, fol 10r
26 Jun- Rose	Ibid
12 Jul- Rose	Ibid, fol 10v
18 Jul- Rose	Ibid
20 Jul- Rose	Ibid
30 Aug- Rose	Ibid, fol 58v
3 Sep- Rose	Ibid, fol 58r
6 Sep- Rose	Ibid, fol 59r
12 Sep- Rose	Ibid
20 Sep- Rose	Ibid
1 Oct- Rose	Ibid, fol 11v
17 Oct- Rose	Ibid
31 Oct- Rose	Ibid, fol 59v
1 Nov- Rose	Ibid
14 Nov- Rose	Ibid
1356	
1 Jan- Rose	Ibid, fol 12r
17 Jan- Rose	Ibid
25 Jan- Rose	Ibid
27-8 Jan- Rose	Ibid, fols 13r, 59v
14 Feb- Rose	Ibid, fol 13r
21 Feb- Rose	Ibid, fol 59v
27 Feb- Rose	Ibid, fol 12v
6 Mar- Rose	Ibid, fol 60r
8 Mar- Rose	Ibid

10 Mar-	Rose		Ibid, fol 13r; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 9
13 Mar-	Rose		Reg Welton. fol 60r
16 Mar-	Rose		Ibid
19 Mar-	Dalston	ordination	Ibid, fol 63v
6 Apr-	Rose		Ibid, fol 13r
9 Apr-	Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 63v
16 Apr-	Rose		Ibid, fol 13r
4 May-	Rose		Ibid
6 May-	Rose		Ibid, fol 13v
12 May-	Rose		Ibid, fol 60r
15-16 May-	Rose		Ibid, fols 13r, 60v
22 May-	Lanercost*	visitation of the prior and canons	Ibid, fol 13v
28 May-	Rose		Ibid, fol 60v
3 Jun-	Rose		Ibid, fol 13v
11 Jun-	Rose		Ibid, fol 61r
16 Jun-	Rose		Ibid
18 Jun-	Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 64r
26 Jun-	Rose		Ibid, fol 14r
30 Jun-	Rose		Ibid
1 Aug-	Rose		Ibid
11 Sep-	Rose		Ibid
16 Sep-	Rose		Ibid
24 Sep-	Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 64r
8 Oct-	Rose		Ibid, fol 61r
20 Oct-	Rose		Ibid, fol 14v
21 Oct-	Rose		Ibid

26 Oct- Rose		Ibid
7 Nov- Rose		Ibid, fol 14r
12 Nov- Rose		Ibid, fol 14v
14 Nov- Rose		Ibid; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 10
16 Nov- Rose		Reg Welton, fol 14v
20-1 Nov- Rose		Ibid, fols 14v, 15r; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 11
21 Nov- Rose		Reg Welton, fol 14v
24 Nov- Rose		Ibid, fol 15r
2 Dec- Rose		Ibid; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 13
10 Dec- Carlisle		Reg Welton, fol 61v
14 Dec- Rose		Ibid, fol 15r
19-21 Dec- Rose		Ibid, fol 15v
29 Dec- Rose		Ibid
1357		
18 Jan- Rose		Ibid, fol 62r
12 Feb- Rose		Ibid, fol 15v
1 Mar- Rose		Ibid, fol 16r
15 Mar- Rose		Ibid
28 Mar- Rose		Ibid
2 Apr- Rose		Ibid, fol 16v
5 Apr- Rose		Ibid
12 Apr- Newark, Nottinghamshire(?)		Ibid
[17 Apr-16 May Westminster	parliament	<i>Handbook</i> , p 524]

3 May- London		Reg Welton, fol 16v
12 May- London		Ibid, fol 62v
15 May- London		Ibid, fol 17r
30 May- Rose		Ibid, fol 16v
1 Jun- Rose		Ibid, fol 17r
3 Jun- Rose		Ibid
5-6 Jun- Rose		Ibid, fol 17r/v
9-10 Jun- Rose		Ibid, fol 17v
12 Jun- Rose		Ibid, fol 18r
14 Jun- Rose		Ibid
17 Jun- Rose		Ibid
20 Jun- Rose		Ibid
23 Jun- Rose		Ibid, fol 20r
1 Aug- Rose		Ibid, fol 18r
8 Aug- Rose		Ibid, fol 62v
12 Sep- Carlisle		Ibid, fol 20v
18 Sep- Rose		Ibid, fol 18r
23 Sep- Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 64r
24 Sep- Rose		Ibid, fol 22r
12 Oct- Rose		Ibid, fol 18v
17 Oct- Rose		Ibid
19 Oct- Carlisle		Ibid
20 Oct- Rose		PRO, C 85/195/13
25 Oct- Rose		Reg Welton, fol 18v; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 17
30 Oct- Brough		Reg Welton, fol 21v
31 Dec- Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 64r

1358

7-8 Jan-	Rose		Ibid, fols 22r, 21v
22 Jan-	Rose		Ibid, fol 22r/v
25 Jan-	Rose		Ibid, fol 22v
13 Mar-	Rose		Ibid
16 Mar-	Rose		Ibid, fol 23r
17 Mar-	Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 64r
8 Apr-	Rose		Ibid, fol 23v
15 Apr-	Rose		Ibid
20 Apr-	Rose		Ibid
10 May-	Rose		Ibid, fol 24r; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 19
13 May-	Rose		Reg Welton, fol 24r
19 May-	Rose		Ibid
26 Jun-	Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 64r
20 Aug-	Rose		Ibid, fol 24v
28 Aug-	Rose		Ibid
2 Sep-	Rose		Ibid, fol 26r
15 Sep-	Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 64v
12 Oct-	Rose		Ibid, fol 26r
19 Oct-	Rose		Ibid, fol 25r
2 Nov-	Rose		Ibid
22 Nov-	Rose		Ibid

1359

25 Jan-	Rose		Ibid, fol 25v
31 Jan-	Rose		Ibid; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 24

4 Feb- Rose	Reg Welton, fol 26r; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 24
11 Feb- Rose	Reg Welton, fols 24r, 26r
18 Feb- Rose	Ibid, fol 26r
13 Mar- Rose	Ibid, fol 26v
18 Mar- Rose	Ibid
5 Apr- Rose	Ibid, fol 27r
24 Apr- Rose	Ibid, fol 26v
1-2 May- Rose	Ibid, fol 27r/v
8 May- Rose	Ibid, fol 27r
11 May- Rose	Ibid, fol 21r
27 May- Rose	Ibid, fol 28r
1 Jun- Rose	Ibid, fol 27v; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 25
18 Jun- Rose	PRO, C 85/195/14
19 Jun- Penrith	Reg Welton, fol 28r
21 Jul- Penrith	Ibid
1 Aug- Carlisle	Ibid
2 Aug- Rose	Ibid, fol 28v
8 Aug- Greystoke	Ibid, fol 29r
1 Sep- Rose	Ibid, fol 31r
22 Sep- Rose	Ibid, fol 29v
29 Sep- Rose	Ibid
1 Oct- Rose	Ibid, fol 30v
16 Oct- Rose	Ibid, fol 29v
27 Oct- Carlisle	Ibid, fol 42r
28 Oct- Rose	Ibid, fol 31r

1 Nov- Rose	Ibid
4 Nov- Rose	Ibid, fol 30v
7 Nov- Rose	Ibid
18 Nov- Rose	Ibid
25 Nov- Rose	Ibid
2 Dec- Rose	Ibid; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 27
7 Dec- Rose	Reg Welton, fol 31r
26 Dec- Rose	Ibid
29 Dec- Rose	Ibid, fol 42r
1360	
4 Jan- Rose	Ibid, fol 31v
8 Jan- Carlisle	Ibid
16 Jan- Rose	Ibid, fol 32r
19-20 Jan- Rose	Ibid, fol 32r/v
31 Jan- Rose	Ibid, fol 32v
6 Feb- Rose	Ibid, fol 32r
7 Mar- Rose	Ibid, fol 32v
21 Mar- Rose	Ibid, fol 33r
31 Mar- Rose	Ibid
8 Apr- Rose	Ibid, fol 33v
12 Apr- Rose	Ibid, fol 42r
17-18 Apr- Rose	Ibid, fol 33v
27 Apr- Rose	Ibid, fol 34r
2 May- Rose	Ibid
4 May- Rose	Ibid, fol 37v
7 May- Penrith	Ibid, fol 36r

[15 May- Westminster	parliament	<i>Handbook</i> , p 525]
19 May- London		Reg Welton, fol 34r
20 May- Rose		Ibid, fol 35r
1 Jun- Rose		Ibid, fol 34v
8 Jul- Rose		Ibid, fol 35r
15 Jul- Rose		Ibid, fol 34v
2 Aug- Rose		Ibid, fol 35r
4 Aug- Rose		Ibid
11-12 Aug- Rose		Ibid, fol 35r/v
19 Sep- Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 64v
15-16 Oct- Rose		Ibid, fols 35v, fol 36r
24 Oct- Rose		Ibid, fol 36r
4 Nov- Carlisle*	visitation of the cathedral chapter	Ibid, fol 36v
12-13 Nov- Rose		Ibid
22-3 Nov- Rose		Ibid
30 Nov- Rose		Ibid, fol 37r
2 Dec- Rose		Ibid
11 Dec- Rose		Ibid, fol 42v
16 Dec- Rose		Ibid, fol 37r
22 Dec- Rose		Ibid
1361		
5 Jan- Rose		Ibid, fol 37v
7 Jan- Rose		Ibid
4 Mar- Penrith		Ibid
12 Mar- Rose		Ibid
15 Mar- Rose		Ibid

27 Mar- Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 64v
5-6 Apr- Rose		Ibid, fol 38r
10 Apr- Rose		Ibid
12 Apr- Rose		Ibid
16-17 Apr- Rose		Ibid
2 May- Rose		Ibid, fol 38v
4-5 May- Rose		Ibid
10 May- Rose		Ibid
12 May- Rose		Ibid
14 May- Rose		Ibid
19 May- Rose		Ibid
22 May- Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 64v
8 Jun- Rose		Ibid, fol 39r
10 Jul- Rose		Ibid, fol 40r
11 Jul- Rose		Ibid
15 Jul- Rose		Ibid
18 Jul- Rose		Ibid, fol 39r
8 Aug- Rose		Ibid
16 Aug- Rose		Ibid; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 33
28 Aug- Rose		Reg Welton, fol 40r
3 Sep- Rose		Ibid, fol 40v
3 Oct- Rose		Ibid
20 Oct- Rose		Ibid
29 Oct- Rose		Ibid, fols 40v, 41r
5 Nov- Rose		Ibid; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 35

7-8 Nov- Rose		Reg Welton, fols 40v, 41r
18 Nov- Rose		Ibid, fol 41r
22 Nov- Rose		Ibid; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 37
30 Nov- Rose		Reg Welton, fol 41r
2 Dec- Rose		Ibid
9 Dec- Rose		Ibid, fol 41v; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 38
15 Dec- Rose		Reg Welton, fol 41v
18 Dec- Dalston	ordination	Ibid, fol 64v
1362		
4 Jan- Rose		Ibid, fol 41v
10 Jan- Rose		Ibid
11 Jan- Rose		Ibid, fol 43r
16 Feb- Rose		Ibid
18-19 Feb- Rose		Ibid, fol 43r/v
21-3 Feb- Rose		Ibid, fol 43v; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 39
3 Mar- Rose		Reg Welton, fol 44r; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 42
8 Mar- Rose		Reg Welton, fol 44r
13 Mar- Rose		Ibid
17-18 Mar- Rose		Ibid, fol 44v
24 Mar- Rose		Ibid
6-7 Apr- Rose		Ibid
17 Apr- Rose		Ibid, fol 45r; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 44

19 Apr- Rose	Reg Welton, fol 45r
25 Apr- Rose	Ibid
13 May- Rose	Ibid, fol 45v
19-20 May- Rose	Ibid; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 46
23 May- Rose	Reg Welton, fol 46r; <i>Test</i> <i>Karl</i> , p 47
4 Jun- Rose	Reg Welton, fol 46r
23 Jun- Rose	Ibid; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 48
26 Jun- Rose	Reg Welton, fol 46v
28 Jun- Carlisle	Ibid
30 Jun- Rose	Ibid
3 Jul- Rose	Ibid
7 Jul- Rose	Ibid, fol 47v; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 52
18 Jul- Brough	Ibid, fol 46v
22 Jul- Rose	Ibid, fol 47r
25 Jul- Carlisle	Ibid, fol 46v
26-7 Jul- Rose	Ibid, fol 47r/v; <i>Test Karl</i> , pp 51, 53-4
29 Jul- Rose	Reg Welton, fol 48r; <i>Test</i> <i>Karl</i> , p 55-6
3-5 Aug- Rose	Reg Welton, fols 48v, 49r; <i>Test Karl</i> , pp 57, 59, 61-3
7 Aug- Rose	Reg Welton, fol 49v
9 Aug- Rose	Ibid, fol 50r

24 Aug- Rose		Reg Welton, fol 49v; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 65
30 Aug- Rose		Reg Welton, fol 50r; <i>Test Karl</i> , pp 66, 70
2 Sep- Rose		Reg Welton, fol 50r
10 Sep- Rose		Ibid, fol 51r; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 69
14 Sep- Rose		Reg Welton, fol 50v
18 Sep- Rose		Ibid
23 Sep- Rose		Ibid, fol 51r
25-6 Sep- Rose		Ibid
29 Sep- Rose		Ibid
3-4 Oct- Rose		Ibid, fol 51v; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 71; PRO, SC 10/28/ 1373; C 85/195/ 15
14 Oct- Rose		Reg Welton, fol 51v
17-18 Oct- Rose		Ibid, fol 52r
22-3 Oct- Rose		Ibid
26 Oct- Rose		Ibid, fol 52v
28 Oct- Rose		Ibid
29 Dec- ?	death	PRO, E 372/208, n 48

ITINERARY OF THOMAS APPLEBY, 1363-1395

1363

18 Jun-	Avignon	consecration	Reg Appleby, fol 10v
13 Aug-	York		Ibid, fol 1r
12 Oct-	Gateshead, Northumberland		Ibid
26 Nov-	Carlisle*	enthronisation	Ibid, fol 1r
13 Dec-	Rose		Ibid, fol 1v
16 Dec-	Carlisle	ordination	Ibid, fol 78r

1364

26 Jan-	Rose		Ibid, fol 1v
17 Feb-	Dalston	ordination	Ibid, fol 78r
10 Mar-	Dalston	ordination	Ibid
14 Mar-	Rose		Ibid, fol 2r
23 Mar-	Carlisle	ordination	Ibid, fol 78v
18 May-	Rose		Ibid, fol 2r; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 76
31 May-	Rose		Reg Appleby, fol 1v
22 Jun-	Rose		Ibid, fol 2r
24 Jul-	Rose		Ibid
29 Sep-	Rose		Ibid

1365

27 Jul-	Rose		Ibid
1 Aug-	Rose		Ibid, fol 2v
26 Aug-	Rose		Ibid
20 Sep-	Carlisle	ordination	Ibid, fol 78v

3 Oct- Rose		Ibid, fol 3r
30 Nov- Rose		Ibid, fol 39v
20 Dec- Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 78v
24 Dec- Rose		Ibid, fol 3r; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 77
1366		
22 Jan- Rose		Reg Appleby, fol 3r; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 78
12 Feb- Rose		Reg Appleby, fol 3v
19 Feb- Rose		Ibid
26 Feb- Rose		Ibid
28 Feb- Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 78v
5 Mar- Rose		Ibid, fol 3v
20 Mar- Rose		Ibid, fol 4r
21 Mar- Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 78v
30 Mar- Carlisle*	visitation of the cathedral chapter	Ibid, fol 3v
4 Apr- Rose		Ibid, fols 4r, 79r
- Dalston	ordination	
8 Apr- Rose		Ibid, fol 4r
1 Aug- Rose		Ibid, fol 6r
7 Aug- Rose		Ibid, fol 8r
15 Aug- Calisle		Ibid, fol 4v
18 Aug- Rose		Ibid
19 Sep- Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 79r
6 Nov- Rose		Ibid, fols 5r, 6r/v; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 79
9 Nov- Rose		Reg Appleby, fols 6r, 13v

21 Nov- Rose		Ibid, fol 5r
25 Nov- Rose		Ibid, fol 6r
3 Dec- Rose		Ibid, fol 7r
4 Dec- Carlisle		Ibid, fol 7v
5 Dec- Rose		Ibid, fol 8v
8 Dec- Rose		Ibid, fol 7r
13-14 Dec- Rose		Ibid, fol 7v
19 Dec- Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 79r
1367		
21-2 Jan- Rose		Ibid, fol 8r; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 81; PRO, C 85/195/16
13 Feb- Rose		PRO, C 85/195/17
13 Mar- Rose	ordination	Reg Appleby, fol 79r
3 Apr- Rose	ordination	Ibid
30 Apr- Rose		Ibid, fol 9r
12 Jun- Rose		Ibid, fol 79r
14 Jun- Rose		Ibid, fol 9v; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 83
18 Jun- Rose		Ibid
1 Aug- Rose		Reg Appleby, fol 26r
18 Sep- Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 79r
18 Dec- Appleby	ordination	Ibid, fol 79v
1368		
20 Jan- Rose		Ibid, fol 15r
22 Feb- Rose		Ibid
4 Mar- Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 79v

18 Mar-	Rose		Ibid, fol 15r
25 Mar-	Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 79v
8 Apr-	Dalston	ordination	Ibid, fol 79v
9-10 Apr-	Rose		Ibid, fol 17v
15 Apr-	Rose		Ibid, fol 26r
18 Apr-	Rose		Ibid, fol 15v
24 Apr-	Rose		Ibid, fols 16r, 33r
23 Jun-	Rose		Ibid, fol 16r; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 88
3 Jul-	Rose		Reg Appleby, fol 29v
14 Jul-	Lanercost*	visitation of the prior and canons	Ibid, fol 29v
16 Jul-	Rose		Ibid, fol 16v
10 Sep-	Rose		Ibid, fol 29r
16 Sep-	Carlisle	ordination	Ibid, fol 79v
24 Sep-	Rose		Ibid, fol 17r
16 Dec-	Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 79v
22 Dec-	Rose		Ibid, fol 35r
1369			
24 Feb-	Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 80r
28 Feb-	Rose		Ibid, fol 40r
31 Mar-	Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 80r
3 Jun-	Westminster	parliament	<i>Rot Parl</i> 2, p 299
26 Jul-	Rose		Reg Appleby, fol 40r
20 Aug-	Rose		Ibid, fol 18v; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 93
15 Sep-	Rose	ordination	Reg Appleby, fol 80r

21-2 Sep- Rose		Ibid, fols 18r, 39v
12 Oct- Rose		Ibid, fol 19r; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 95
19 Oct- Rose		Reg Appleby, fol 18v; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 92
3-4 Nov- Rose		Reg Appleby, fols 19v, 35r
12 Dec- Rose		Ibid, fol 36v
15 Dec- Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 80r
1370		
6 Jan- Rose		Ibid, fol 34v
28 Jan- Rose		Ibid, fol 35v
9 Mar- Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 80v
30 Mar- Rose	ordination	Ibid
13 Apr- Dalston	ordination	Ibid
21 Sep- Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 81r
26 Oct- Rose		PRO, C 85/195/18
14 Dec- Rose	ordination	Reg Appleby, fol 81r
1371		
31 May- Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 81v
21 Jun- Rose		Ibid, fol 37v; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 101
10 Jul- Rose		Reg Appleby, fol 48r
8 Sep- Rose		Ibid, fol 8v
12 Sep- Rose		Ibid, fol 54r
18 Sep- Rose		Ibid, fol 37v

20 Sep- Penrith	ordination	Ibid, fol 81v
1 Dec- Rose		Ibid, fol 38r
20 Dec- Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 81v
1372		
21 Feb- Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 82r
13 Mar- Rose	ordination	Ibid
22 Mar- Rose		Ibid, fol 56v
26 Mar- Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 82r
28 Mar- Rose		Ibid, fol 56v
26 Apr- Rose		Ibid, fol 57v; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 103
22 May- Bolton	ordination	Reg Appleby fol 82v
24 May- Bewley		Ibid, fol 58r
4 Jun- Bewley		Ibid, fol 58v
6 Aug- Rose		Ibid, fol 60v
10 Aug- Rose		Ibid, fol 60r
4 Sep- Rose		Ibid
18 Sep- Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 82v
1373		
12 Mar- Rose	ordination	Ibid
2 Apr- Rose	ordination	Ibid
16 Apr- Rose	ordination	Ibid
6 Sep- Rose		Ibid, fol 69r
17 Sep- Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 82v
1 Oct- Carlisle*	visitation of the cathedral chapter	Ibid, fol 69r
16 Oct- Lanercost*	visitation of the prior and canons	Ibid

5 Dec- Rose		Ibid, fol 71r; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 105
17 Dec- Rose	ordination	Reg Appleby, fol 83r
1374	.	
12 Feb- Rose		Ibid, fol 71v
25 Feb- Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 83r
26 Feb- Rose		Ibid, fol 71v
13 Mar- Rose		Ibid, fol 75v
18 Mar- Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 83r
23 Mar- Rose		Ibid, fol 75v
8 Apr- Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 83r
27 May- Bewley	ordination	Ibid
11 Aug- Rose		Ibid, fols 73v, 76r
23 Sep- Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 83r
6 Oct- Rose		Ibid, fol 72r; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 106
18 Oct- Rose		PRO, C 85/195/19
15 Nov- Rose		Reg Appleby, fol 75r
5 Dec- Rose		Ibid, fol 72v
11 Dec- Rose		Ibid; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 108
16 Dec- Rose	ordination	Reg Appleby, fol 83r
1375		
11 Jan- Rose		Reg Appleby, fol 73r
24 Jan- Rose		PRO, C 85/195/20
20 Feb- Rose		Reg Appleby, fol 73v

17 Mar-	Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 83v
7 Apr-	Rose	ordination	Ibid
10 Apr-	Rose		Ibid, fol 76r
18 Apr-	Rose		Ibid, fol 75v
21 Apr-	Dalston	ordination	Ibid, fol 83v
6 Jun-	Rose		Ibid, fol 76v
16 Jun-	Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 83v
4 Jul-	Rose		Ibid, fol 88v
22 Aug-	Rose		Ibid, fol 76v <i>Test Karl</i> , p 109
1 Sep-	Rose		Reg Appleby, fol 76v
22 Sep-	Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 83v
9 Nov-	Rose		Ibid, fol 88v
5 Dec-	Rose		Ibid, fol 89r
22 Dec-	Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 83v
1376			
28 Apr-	Westminster	parliament	<i>Rot Parl</i> 2, p 322
4 Jun-	London		PRO, C 85/195/22
6 Jun-	London		Reg Appleby, fol 89v
20 Sep-	Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 84r
21-4 Oct-	Rose		Ibid, fol 89v; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 111; PRO, C 85/195/21
26-7 Oct-	Rose		Reg Appleby, fol 90r
30-1 Oct-	Rose		Ibid
3-4 Nov-	Penrith		Ibid, fol 90v
10 Nov-	Rose		Ibid

20 Dec-	Carlisle	ordination	Ibid, fol 84r
1377			
6 Jan-	Rose		Ibid, fols 92r, 94r
8 Jan-	Rose		Ibid, fol 94r
25 Jan-	Rose		Ibid, fol 92r
21 Feb-	Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 84r
3 Mar-	Rose		Ibid, fol 92r
14 Mar-	Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 84r
16-17 Mar-	Rose		Ibid, fol 92r/v; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 113
23 Mar-	Rose		Reg Appleby, fol 92r
27 Mar-	Rose		Ibid, fol 92v
3 Apr-	Rose		Ibid; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 114
8 Apr-	Rose		Reg Appleby, fol 93v
13 May-	Rose		Ibid, fol 93r; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 116
22 May-	Rose		Reg Appleby, fol 93r
23 May-	Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 84r
20 Jul-	Rose		Ibid, fol 94v
26 Jul-	Rose		Ibid
30 Jul-	Rose		Ibid, fol 94r
6 Aug-	Rose		Ibid, fol 94v
15 Sep-	Rose		Ibid, fol 95r; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 117
19 Sep-	Rose	ordination	Reg Appleby, fol 84v
13 Oct-	Westminster	parliament	<i>Rot Parl</i> 3, p 4

1378		
25 Jan-	London	Reg Appleby, fol 101v
17 Apr-	London ordination	Ibid, fol 84v
20 Oct-	Gloucester parliament	<i>Rot Parl</i> 3, p 34
18 Dec-	Dalston ordination	Reg Appleby, fol 84v
1379		
2 Jan-	Rose	Ibid, fol 99v
11 Jan-	Carlisle* visitation of the cathedral chapter	Ibid
16 Jan-	Rose	Ibid, fol 100r; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 126
6-8 Feb-	Rose	Reg Appleby, fols 99v, 100r/v; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 125
10 Feb-	Rose	Reg Appleby, fol 100r; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 124
24 Feb-	Rose	Reg Appleby, fol 100v; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 127
1 Mar-	Carlisle	Reg Appleby, fol 101r
4 Mar-	Rose	Ibid, fol 100v
5 Mar-	Rose ordination	Ibid, fol 84v
17-18 Mar-	Rose	Ibid, fol 101r
9 Apr-	Dalston ordination	Ibid, fol 85r
14 Apr-	Rose	Ibid, fol 102v
21 Apr-	Rose	Ibid, fol 101v
24 Apr-	Westminster parliament	<i>Rot Parl</i> 3, p 69
8 May-	Rose	Reg Appleby, fol 103v

17 May-	Lanercost*	visitation of the prior and canons	Ibid
28 May-	Rose		Ibid
4 Jun-	Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 85r
24 Aug-	Rose		Ibid, fol 105v
6 Sep-	Rose		Ibid, fol 106r
24 Sep-	Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 85r
31 Oct-	Rose		Ibid, fol 107r
11 Dec-	Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 85r
17 Dec-	Carlisle	ordination	Ibid
21 Dec-	Rose		Ibid, fol 108v; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 129
1380			
24 Mar-	Dalston	ordination	Ibid, fol 85r
14 Apr-	Rose		Ibid, fol 108v
10 Jun-	Rose		Ibid, fol 110v; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 133
5 Nov-	Northampton	parliament	<i>Rot Parl</i> 3, p 89
1381			
14 Feb-	Rose		Reg Appleby, fol 118
9 Mar-	Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 85v
30 Mar-	Rose	ordination	Ibid
6 Apr-	Rose		Ibid, fol 119r
13 Apr-	Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 85v
15 Apr-	Rose		Ibid, fol 119r
9 Mar-	Rose		Ibid, fol 120r
27 Mar-	Rose		Ibid; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 148

8 Jun- Rose	ordination	Reg Appleby, fol 85v
14 Jun- Penrith		Ibid, fol 123v; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 149
21 Sep- Rose	ordination	Reg Appleby, fol 85v
22 Sep- Rose		Ibid, fol 121v
1382		
1 Mar- Rose	ordination	Ibid, fol 86r
22 Mar- Carlisle	ordination	Ibid
5 Apr- Dalston	ordination	Ibid
31 May- Rose	ordination	Ibid
12 Sep- Rose		PRO, C 85/195/23
20 Sep- Brough	ordination	Reg Appleby, fol 86v
19 Oct- Rose		PRO, C 85/195/24
1383		
31 Jan- Rose	ordination	Reg Appleby, fol 86v
14 Feb- Dalston	ordination	Ibid
7 Mar- Rose	ordination	Ibid
26 May- Rose		PRO, C 85/195/25
21 Oct- Rose		PRO, C 85/195/26
1384		
4 Jun- Rose		Reg Appleby, fol 127r
1385		
25 Feb- Rose		PRO, C 85/195/27

12-13 Aug- Rose		Reg Appleby, fol 127r
19 Aug- Rose		Ibid
7 Sep- Carlisle		Ibid, fol 129v
21 Sep- Rose		Ibid, fol 129r
24 Sep- Rose		Ibid, fol 128v
28 Sep- Rose		Ibid, fol 129r
30 Sep- Rose		Ibid
10 Oct- Rose		Ibid, fol 130r
22 Oct- Rose		PRO, C 85/195/28
1386		
20 Jan- Carlisle		Reg Appleby, fol 132r; <i>Test Karl</i> , p 151
27 Feb- Rose		Reg Appleby, fol 132r
10 May- Rose		Ibid, fol 132v
28 Jun- Carlisle		Ibid, fol 133v
12 Oct- Rose		Ibid, fol 134r
1387		
12 Feb- Rose		Ibid, fol 135r
22 Feb- Rose		Ibid, fol 134v
1388		
2 Jan- Rose		PRO, C 85/195/30
3 Feb- Westminster	parliament	<i>Rot Parl</i> 3, p 237
26 Sep- Rose	ordination	Reg Appleby, fol 86v

1389

2 Nov- Rose

PRO, C 85/195/31

1390

2 Apr - Rose

Ibid, fol 135r

1392

20 Jan- Rose

PRO, C 85/195/32

7 Jun- Rose

PRO, C 85/195/33

21 Nov- Rose

Reg Appleby,
fol 135v

9 Dec- Rose

Ibid, fol 136r

1393

17 Apr- Rose

PRO, C 85/195/35

7 Oct- Rose

PRO, C 85/195/34

1395

10 Jan- Rose

PRO, C 85/195/36

5 Dec- ?

death

Le Neve, *Fasti*,
1300-1541 6, p 97

APPENDIX B

DIOCESAN OFFICERS

Abbreviations:- Col, collated or collation; D, died or death; Inst, instituted or institution; Occ, occupying or occupation; Pres, presented or presentation; Res, resigned or resignation.

ARCHDEACONS

Master Richard Whitby occ 1291. [*Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p 318] Presumably col soon after a papal mandate dated 10 Jun 1291 ordering Master Richard Leith, the previous incumbent to resign. [CPL 1, p 538] Occ 1297. [Reg Halton 2, p 100]

Master Peter Lisle col 21 Nov 1302. [Ibid 1, pp 176-7] D before 26 Nov 1311. [Ibid, pp 41, 72] DCnL by 1296/7, DTh by 1310. [Emden, *Oxford* 2, p 1003] Inst, 21 Sep 1294, to the church of South Kilvington, dio York, and granted licence of non-residence to study for three years. [Reg Romeyn 1, p 181] Col, 14 Nov 1299, to the archdeaconry of Coventry, which he probably res before 1302. [Le Neve, *Fasti, 1300-1541* 10, p 14] Col, 26 Oct 1301, to the prebend of Bole in York minster, which he held until death. [Ibid 6, p 34] Col, 25 Feb 1311, to the subdeanery of York, but superseded by a papal provisor. [Ibid, p 15]

Master Gilbert Halton col 26 Nov 1311. [Reg Halton 2, pp 41, 72] Res 12 Mar 1318. [Ibid, p 165] Master by 1311. [Ibid, pp 41, 72] Col, 24 Sep 1304, to the church of Ousby, which he res before 5 May 1306, when col to the church of Kirkland. [Ibid 1, pp 218, 251] Granted licence of non-residence, 10 Feb 1312, to study for

an unspecified period.[Ibid 2, p 73]

Master Thomas Caldbeck col 27 Jun 1318.[Ibid, p 169] Master by 1314.[Ibid, p 98] Col, 7 Jun 1314, to the church of Clifton, which he res before 30 Dec 1317. [Ibid, pp 98, 154] Col, 23 Sep 1316, to the church of Ousby, which he appears to have res upon his col to the archdeaconry.[Ibid, pp 125, 169]

Master Henry Carlisle col 26 Dec 1320.[Ibid, p 203] Master by 1314.[Ibid, p 98] Occ the church of Clifton before 7 Jun 1314.[Ibid]

Master William Kendal occ 10 Apr 1322.[Ibid, p 212] DCnL by 1337.[Reg Kirkby, fol 184v] *Familiaris* of Bishop Halton by 24 Oct 1320.[Ibid, pp 221-2] Warned, 12 Jul 1334, against having any contact with Alice Culwen, a nun, under penalty of 100 marks.[Reg Kirkby, fol 162v] Incurred Bishop Kirkby's displeasure for his part in the execution of a certain apostolic mandate of provision, almost certainly that of John Skelton to the church of Kirkland, 1336.[Ibid, fol 184v; see Appendix C, 'Kirkland'] May have been deprived, for Master William Brisbane was called archdeacon, 4 and 30 Nov 1336.[Reg Kirkby, fol 175v] Probably re-instated the following summer at the behest of the archbishop of York.[Ibid, fol 184v] Kirkby was still hostile to him as late as 1340, when he is last known to have occ. [Ibid, fol 210r/v; see above, pp 204-7]

Master William Brisbane d before 7 May 1350.[CPL 3, p 341] Had been archdeacon briefly in 1336-7.[See next entry

above] Was perhaps col again to the archdeaconry following the res, d, or deprivation of Kendal(?)

John Marshal, vs

William de Savinhaco

Marshal occ 11 Apr 1350. [CCR, 1349-54, p 215] *Domesticus episcopi* by 26 May 1347. [Reg Kirkby, fol 122v]

Savinhaco prov 7 May 1350. [CPL 3, p 341] The loss of the section of Kirkby's register covering these years makes it impossible to know whether Savinhaco successfully obtained the archdeaconry.

Master William Rothbury occ 11 Jun 1355. [Reg Welton, fol 10r] Will dated 10 May, proved 18 May 1364. [Reg Appleby, fol 1v; *Test Karl*, pp 74-6]

Master John Appleby col 18 May 1364. [Reg Appleby, fol 2r] Res 21 Oct 1379. [Ibid, fol 107r] BCL. [Emden, *Oxford* 1, p 41] Occ the church of Ormside, Sep 1352; res before 29 Apr 1362. [Durham, Prior's Kitchen, Reg Hatfield, fol 7r; Reg Welton, fol 45r] Inst to the church of Kirkoswald, 7 Apr 1362, following pres by Ranulph Dacre; probably res upon his col to the archdeaconry and certainly before 22 Jun 1364. [Reg Welton, fol 44v; Reg Appleby, fol 2r] Returned as a pluralist, 1366, as he held in addition to the archdeaconry a canonry and prebend of Norton and the wardenship of St Edmund's hospital, Gateshead, which latter he res. [Reg Appleby, fol 6r/v] He had held the wardenship since 1353 and the prebend since at least 1363. [Emden, *Oxford* 1, p 41] Col, 24 Sep 1379, to the church of

Caldbeck.[Reg Appleby, fol 106r]

[Thomas Felton. Doubtful occ in 1379, as given in the poll tax account for that year, since the names of incumbents listed in much of the account are false.[PRO, E 179/60/1, m 1; see J.L. Kirby, 'Two Tax Accounts of the Diocese of Carlisle, 1379-80', *TCHAAS* ns 52 (1952) pp 70-84]

Thomas Carlisle occ 1391.[CPL 4, p 386] Prov, 28 Oct 1393, to a canonry of St David's with expectation of a prebend.[Ibid, p 467]

OFFICIALS

Master John Bowes acting 1294.[Reg Holmcultram, no 36a]

Still official, 23 Sep 1307.[Reg Halton 1, p 291]

Col by lapse of time, 1 Jun 1294, to the church of Kirklington.[Ibid, pp 28, 32] Granted custody of the church of Bowness, 8 Oct 1300, until the pres of legitimate age to be admitted.[Ibid, p 135]

Master Adam Appleby appointed 26 Nov 1311.[Ibid 2, pp 37-8, 40] Acting 25 Oct 1319, 1 Feb 1331.[Ibid, p 197; Reg Ross, fol 131v] Appointed official, *sede vacante*, 11 May 1332.[Reg Melton 1, no 304] Col, 5 May 1306, to the church of Ousby.[Reg Halton 1, p 251] Occ the church of Caldbeck, 29 Aug 1312.[CCR, 1307-13, p 549] Col to Caldbeck confirmed, 20 Aug 1315.[Reg Halton 2, p 103; cf pp 38-9]

Master Robert Suthaik acting 12 Jul 1334.[Reg Kirkby, fol 162v] Pres by Carlisle priory, 17 May 1306, to the church of Bewcastle, to which he was inst before 6 Mar 1311.[Reg Halton 1, pp 251-2; 2, p 30]

Master Robert Risindon appointed in or before 1339, when issued a commission conceding fuller powers.[Reg Kirkby, fol 202r] Occ the church of Ormside, 22 Aug 1343.[Ibid, fol 240v]

Master Robert Suthaik appointed 1341.[Ibid, fol 218v]

Master John Stockton appointed in or before 1343, when issued a commission conceding fuller powers.[Reg Kirkby, fol 237v] No longer official by 1348, when acting as vicar-general of the bishop of Durham. [Emden, *Cambridge*, p 556] Master and bishop's clerk by 11 Oct 1339.[Reg Kirkby, fol 205v] Occ the church of Musgrave, 3 Mar 1341.[Reg Kirkby, fol 216r]

Master Nicholas Whitby appointed 1 Mar 1354.[Reg Welton, fol 2r]

Master Adam Caldbeck appointed 10 Mar 1355.[Ibid, fol 8v] Acting Apr 1360.[Ibid, fol 33v]

Master John Welton acting 17 Oct 1362.[Ibid, fol 52r] Col, 14 May 1359, to the church of Ousby, which he had res by 15 Oct 1360.[Ibid, fols 27v, 35v] Col, 19 May 1360, to the vicarage of Crosthwaite, which he had res by 2 May 1361.[Ibid, fols 34r, 38r]

Master John Appleby acting 28 May 1364, when col to the archdeaconry.[Reg Appleby, fol 2r] May have combined offices for a time.

Master William Hall or Bowness acting 26 Jan 1377.[Ibid, fol 94r] Still official, 24 Aug 1379.[Ibid, fol 105v] Inst, 22 Jul 1354, to the church of Bowness following pres by Robert le Brun.[Reg Welton, fol 3v] Exchanged the church of Bowness for that of Caldbeck, 15 Apr 1381.[Reg Appleby, fol 119r/v]

Master Adam Bolton acting 9 Dec 1392.[Ibid, fol 136r] Occ the church of Bolton, 21 Mar 1369.[Ibid, fol 133r/v]

VICARS-GENERAL

Robert Helpston, prior of Carlisle and William Gosforth, rector of Ormside appointed 26 Nov 1311, from St Symphorien, to act while Bishop Halton was attending the council of Vienne.[Reg Halton 2, pp 39-40] The bishop had returned to the diocese by 3 Mar 1312.[See Appendix A, p 270]

Master Adam Appleby, the official, appointed 4 Jul 1314, to act as long as the bishop was unable to reside due to Scottish raids.[Ibid, pp 99-100] Halton had returned to the diocese by 8 Oct 1316.[See Appendix A, pp 271-2]

Master Adam Appleby, the official, appointed 1 Dec 1322, from Horncastle, to act as long as the bishop was unable to reside due to Scottish raids.[Ibid, p 222] Halton had returned by 9 Jun 1324.[See Appendix A, pp 276-7]

Master Thomas Halton acting 5 Jan 1336.[Reg Kirkby, fol 164v] Kirkby was absent from no earlier than 12 Jun

1335 and had returned by 29 Apr 1336.[See Appendix A, p 284]

Robert Suthaik, abbot of Holmcultram acting 20 Feb 1353, for John Horncastle, bishop-elect of Carlisle.[Reg Horncastle, fol 1v] Appointed 10 Jul 1353 by Bishop Welton at the beginning of his episcopate.[Reg Welton, fol 1r] He had reached the diocese by 31 Feb 1354.[See Appendix A, p 294]

John Horncastle, prior of Carlisle, Master John Appleby, rector of Kirkoswald, and Master Adam Caldbeck appointed 13 Aug 1363 by Bishop Appleby at the beginning of his episcopate.[Reg Appleby, fol 1r] He had reached the diocese by 26 Nov 1363.[See Appendix A, p 309]

John Horncastle, prior of Carlisle and Master John Appleby, the archdeacon appointed 18 Sep 1371, to act in the bishop's absence.[Reg Appleby, fol 37v] However, he may not have left the diocese at that time.[See Appendix A, pp 313-14]

Master William Hall, the official, acting probably as early as 13 Jan, certainly by 5 Jun, and still on 25 Nov 1378.[Reg Appleby, fols 97r-98v, 101r] Appleby was during this time a member of the continual council. He had returned to the diocese by 18 Dec 1378.[See Appendix A, pp 317-18]

Master William Hall acting 6 Sep and still 12 Nov 1380. [Reg Appleby, fol 118r] The bishop's absence extended from no earlier than 10 Jun 1380 to no later

than 14 Feb 1381.[See Appendix A, p 319]

RURAL DEANS

Deanery of Allerdale

Adam Alneburgh, vicar of Aspatria acting 11 May 1359.[Reg
Welton, fol 21r]

Deanery of Carlisle

Richard, vicar of Brampton acting 1337-1338/9.[Reg Kirkby,
fols 184r, 187v, 195r, 198v]

Thomas, rector of Beaumont acting 29 Jul 1362.[Reg Welton,
fol 48v]

Deanery of Cumberland

John, vicar of Penrith appointed 10 Oct 1355.[Ibid, fol
11v]

APPENDIX C

PARISH CHURCHES AND INCUMBENTS

Note:- The dedications of churches are taken from T.H.B. Graham and W.G. Collingwood, 'Patron Saints of the Diocese of Carlisle', *TCWAAS* ns 25 (1925) pp 1-27. All dedications not known from a medieval source are treated as questionable, and of these the dedications given by Joseph Nicolson and Richard Burn in *The History and Antiquities of Westmorland and Cumberland*, 2 vols (London, 1777) are preferred to those given by other modern authorities. The valuations are taken from *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, pp 318-20 and *Reg Halton* 2, pp 183-9.

Abbreviations:- Col, collated or collation; D, died or death; Disp, dispensed or dispensation; Ind, inducted or induction; Inst, instituted or institution; Occ, occupying or occupation; Pres, presented, presentee, or presentation; Prov, provided or provision; Res, resigned or resignation.

ADDINGHAM (Cumberland)

Dedication- St Michael

Valuation- Rectory:

1291: 140

1318: 110

Patronage- The advowson was granted to Carlisle priory by Christiana Lasceles before 10 Jul 1297, when the canons were pardoned by the king for obtaining the same without his licence. [*CPR, 1292-1301*, p 250] Licence obtained to appropriate, 8 Jul 1304. [*CPR, 1301-7*, p 241] The church appropriated, 22 Jan 1316. [*Northern Regs*, pp 250-3]

Rectors

Eustace Trewick d before 28 Dec 1296. [*Reg Halton* 1, pp 95-6]

Robert Scarborough, priest pres 29 Dec 1296 by Carlisle priory. [*Reg Halton* 1, p 89] Richard Langwathby, clerk had been pres 28 Dec 1296 by Adam Crookdyke, and Robert Bardelby on 24 Jan 1297 by the king, but the priory recovered advowson against both, 25 May and 13 Jul 1297. [*Ibid*, pp 95-6, 104-5]

Master William Beverley granted custody of the sequestration, 23 Aug 1297. [*Ibid*, p 105] Occ 8 Jun 1307, when granted licence of non-residence to study for two years. [*Ibid*, p 282] Res before 9 Nov 1316, when

Vicars

Geoffrey Govertton, OSA, pres of Carlisle priory, inst.

[Ibid 2, p 131]

Thomas Kirkoswald, OSA occ 1342.[Reg Kirkby, fol 232r]

Adam Wigton occ 1359.[Reg Welton, fol 30v] Will proved
22 Jul 1362.[Ibid, fol 47r]

Walter Helton, priest, pres of Carlisle priory, inst 27 Jul
1362.[Ibid, fol 47v] Occ 1368.[Reg Appleby, fol 16v]

Thomas occ 22 May 1370.[Ibid, fol 43v]

William Colt occ 6 May 1382.[CCR, 1381-5, p 63]

AIKTON (Carlisle)

Dedication- St Andrew	Valuation- 1291: £19 4s
	1318: £4 8s

Patronage- The advowson belonged to the lords of the barony of Burgh by Sands. The rectory would appear to have been divided into medieties when the barony was divided between the two daughters of Hugh de Morville, who died in 1202, and it remained in medieties even though the barony was by 1272 reunited under a single lord.[Sanders, *English Baronies*, p 23; *CIPM* 1, nos 738, 752, 758; 5, no 452; 11, no 317]

Twin Rectors

1304-6

Mediety 1

Master William Aldwark, late pres of William Furnival, d
1 Nov 1304.[Reg Halton 1, p 227]

William Somerset, priest pres 19 Dec 1304 by Thomas Multon
of Gilsland. Inst 28 Jan 1305.[Ibid, pp 226, 228-9]
Res 6 May 1306.[Ibid, p 262]

Richard Askby, clerk, pres of Thomas Multon of Gilsland,
inst 30 May 1306, when also granted licence of non-

residence to study for seven years.[Ibid, pp 262-3]

Ordained subdeacon, 17 Dec 1306.[Ibid, p 272]

Mediety 2

Richard Multon or Aikton, late pres of Thomas Multon, res
10 Jan 1305.[Ibid, p 228]

1323-64

Mediety 1

Robert Halton inst before 3 Apr 1323.[Ibid 2, p 221] D
2 Jul 1339.[Reg Kirkby, fol 204r]

Master William Salkeld, clerk pres 5 Jul 1339 by Margaret
Dacre. Inst 8 Jul 1339.[Ibid] Ordained acolyte and
subdeacon, 18 Sep 1339; priest, 10 Jun 1340.[Ibid,
fols 205r, 211r] Occ 4 Aug 1360.[Reg Welton, fol 35r]

Mediety 2

Thomas Spenser occ 9 Jul 1339.[Reg Kirkby, fol 204r]

Robert Kirkby occ 3 Jun 1356, when granted licence of non-
residence to stay in the service of Margaret Dacre for
one year; 4 Feb 1362, for three years.[Reg Welton,
fols 13v, 43r] Will dated 26 Apr 1372.[Reg Appleby,
fol 57v; *Test KarI*, pp 101-3]

William Beauchamp, clerk, pres of Ranulph Dacre, inst 7 Aug
1362.[Reg Welton, fol 49v] Ordained deacon, 17 Feb
1364; priest, 23 Mar 1364.[Reg Appleby, fol 78r/v]
Res before 24 Jul 1364, when

William Chamberlain, priest, pres of Ranulph Dacre, inst.
[Ibid, fol 2r]

1374-82

Mediety 1

Thomas Hyton, res before 26 Feb 1374, when

Thomas Roke, pres of Ranulph Dacre, inst.[Ibid, fol 71v]

Res c 13 May 1376 in exchange for the church of Kirk-
andrews with

John Middleton, who on that account was pres 13 May 1376

by the king by reason of his custody of the lands of
Ranulph Dacre.[CPR, 1374-7, p 275] D before 25 Nov
1378, when

John Kirkby, priest, pres of Hugh Dacre, inst.[Reg Appleby,
fol 98v] Granted licence of non-residence, 29 Sep
1382, for three years.[Ibid, fol 124r]

Mediety 2

William Shambles. Will dated 13 Aug 1380.[Ibid, fol 114v;

Test Karl, pp 141-2]

AINSTABLE (Cumberland)

Dedication- St Michael

Valuation- Rectory:

1291: £10 9s 5d

1318: £1

Vicarage:

1291: £5 4s 8d

1318: not taxed

Patronage- The church appropriated to the nuns of Arma-
thwaite, by whom the advowson was also held.

Vicars

Eudes occ 4 Jun 1372.[Reg Appleby, fol 58v]

John. Will dated 5 Sep 1380.[Ibid, fol 114v; Test Karl,

p 142]

APPLEBY, ST LAURENCE'S (Westmorland)

Valuation- Rectory:

1291: £15

1318: £4

Vicarage:

1291: £10

1318: not taxed

Patronage- The church appropriated to the monks of St Mary's, York, by whom the advowson was also held.

Vicars

W. occ 12 Aug 1296.[*Reg Halton* 1, p 75]

Walter Doncaster occ 27 Nov 1302.[*Ibid*, p 194]

Stephen Poppleton, priest, pres of St Mary's, York, inst
19 Feb 1308.[*Ibid*, p 296] D 17 Jan 1333.[*Reg Kirkby*,
fol 128v]

John Carlton, priest pres 20 Feb 1333 by St Mary's, York.
Inst 2 Apr 1333.[*Ibid*, fol 124v] Occ 17 Jun 1336.
[*Ibid*, fol 172r]

William Collin occ 18 Aug 1359, 4 Aug 1360.[*Reg Welton*,
fols 29r, 35r]

Robert Jones inst 21 Oct 1379.[*Reg Appleby*, fol 107r]

APPLEBY, ST MICHAEL'S (Westmorland)

Valuation- Rectory:

1291: £30

1318: £5

Vicarage:

1291: £13 6s 8d

1318: £1

Patronage- The church appropriated to the monks of St Mary's, York, but the patronage of the vicarage reserved to the bishop.

Vicars

Robert Bradwood occ 20 Jan 1303; 30 Dec 1331.[*Reg Halton* 1,
p 197; *Reg Ross*, fol 140r] D before 15 Sep 1339, when

Henry Appleby, priest col.[Reg Kirkby, fol 216r]

John Toke of Tugford or Tuxford occ 1342; 3 Oct 1361.[Ibid,
fol 227r; Reg Welton, fol 40v]

Richard Aslackby, priest col 14 Sep 1362.[Ibid, fol 50v]

Will dated 26 Oct, proved 2 Nov 1369.[Reg Appleby,
fol 19r; *Test Karl*, pp 96-7]

John Merton, priest col 16 Dec 1369.[Reg Appleby, fol 19v]

Res c 12 Jan in exchange for the vicarage of Brough
with

John Reynold of Appleby.[Ibid, fol 36r]

ARTHURET (Carlisle)

Dedication- St Michael (?)	Valuation- Rectory:
	1291: £80
	1318: not taxed
	Vicarage:
	1291: £30
	1318: not taxed

Patronage- The advowson was granted in the twelfth century to the Augustinian canons of Jedburgh abbey by Turgis de Rosedale, lord of Liddel, and the church was appropriated to them by Bishop Bernard, 1203x1214.[Reg Ross, fol 135v] By a certain composition already long in use by the early fourteenth century, the canons were obliged to present the nominee of the bishop of Carlisle to the perpetual vicarage.[Reg Halton 1, p 217] After the outbreak of war with Scotland, the canons were deprived of the rectory, though as late as 1316 they continued to present to the vicarage. In February 1329 the king granted their petition for restoration.[CDS 3, nos 973, 999] However, following the renewal of hostilities in 1332, they were again deprived, and thenceforth the king presented to the rectory as well as the bishops' nominees to the perpetual vicarage.

Vicars

Thomas Leicester res before 15 Jun 1304, when

Thomas de Capella, priest, nom of the bishop, pres by Jed-
burgh abbey. Inst 24 Jun 1304.[Reg Halton 1, pp 217-18]

Richard Wethermillock, priest, nom of the bishop, pres of

Jedburgh abbey, inst 25 Sep 1312.[Ibid 2, pp 61-2]

D before 23 Sep 1316, when

John Carlisle, priest, nom of the bishop, pres of Jedburgh abbey, inst.[Ibid, p 126]

John Goldsmith d 28 Jun 1332.[Reg Kirkby, fol 125v]

John Penrith pres 20 Jul 1332 by Jedburgh abbey upon the king's nom by reason of the vacancy of the see.[Ibid, fol 129v; CPR, 1330-4, pp 316, 322] Inst before 23 Mar 1333.[Reg Kirkby, fol 124v] Will dated 3 Feb, proved 30 Feb 1354.[Reg Welton, fol 1v; Test Karl, pp 1-3]

Master William Ragenhill nom 25 Apr 1354 by the bishop.

Pres 4 May 1354 by the king. Inst 23 Jul 1354.[Reg Welton, fol 3v; CPR, 1354-8, p 40] The king had pres William Arthuret on 20 Mar 1354, but evidently not on the bishop's nom.[CPR, 1354-8, p 21] Res before 3 Sep 1354, when

William Arthuret, priest, nom of the bishop, pres by the king.[Ibid, p 99] Inst 17 Sep 1354.[Reg Welton, fol 4v]

Rectors

Baldwin Wake, clerk pres 31 May 1296 by John Wake, lord of Liddel, his brother (excepting the portion ordained for the perpetual vicar).[Reg Halton 1, p 69]

Richard son of Neapolico de Corelia res before 29 Dec 1330.
[Reg Ross, fol 130r]

John Pocklington, clerk pres c Jul 1333 by the king by reason of the forfeiture of Jedburgh abbey.[Reg Kirkby,

fol 125r] Ordained priest, 18 Dec 1333.[Ibid, fol 155r] Res 8 Mar 1337 in exchange for the church of Glaston, dio Lincoln, with Ralph Leppington, who on that account was pres 14 Mar 1337 by the king. Inst 24 Apr 1337.[Ibid, fol 180r/v, 182] Occ 1342.[Ibid, fol 227r]

Richard Tissington res before 22 Oct 1361, when John Bowland, clerk pres by the king.[CPR, 1361-4, p 76] Inst 29 Oct 1361.[Reg Welton, fol 40v] Granted letters dimissory, 22 Feb 1362.[Ibid, fol 43v] Res c 2 Dec 1377 in exchange for the church of Warfield, dio Salisbury, with

John Marshal, pres on that account of the king.[CPR, 1374-7, pp 302, 406; Reg Appleby, fol 94r]

Robert Warthcop, priest pres 22 Oct 1380 by the king.[CPR, 1377-81, p 549]

ASBY (Westmorland)

Dedication- St Peter	Valuation- 1291: £20
	1318: £3

Patronage- The advowson held by the lord of the manor of Great Asby.

Rectors

William Brampton, clerk pres 21 Apr 1297 by Robert Askby, knt.[Reg Halton 1, p 97] Granted custody of the sequestration, 23 Sep 1297.[Ibid, p 105] Inst 21 Dec 1297.[Ibid, p 106] Ordained subdeacon, 21 Dec 1297. [Ibid, p 108]

Master William Kelsick, acolyte, pres of Robert Askby, knt,

inst 9 Dec 1319.[Ibid 2, p 198] Ordained deacon,
10 Mar 1324; priest, 14 Apr 1324.[Ibid, pp 227-8]
Granted licence of non-residence, 6 Mar 1320, to study
for three years; 15 Feb 1323, for one year; 6 Nov
1336, for three years; 8 Apr 1339, for one year.[Ibid,
pp 200, 219; Reg Kirkby, fols 173r, 202v] D 29 May
1345.[Reg Kirkby, fol 243r]

Thomas Anand, the younger, priest pres 4 Jun 1345 by Hugh
Moriceby, knt. Inst 23 Jun 1345.[Ibid] Granted
licence of non-residence, 29 Sep 1364, for two years
at the request of Christopher Moriceby.[Reg Appleby,
fol 2r] Will dated 18 Nov, proved 11 Dec 1374.[Ibid,
fol 72v; *Test Karl*, pp 106-8]

Stephen Melbourne pres 11 Dec 1374 by the king by reason of
his custody of the lands and heir of Christopher
Moriceby.[*CPR*, 1374-7, p 41] Inst 11 Jan 1375.[Reg
Appleby, fol 73r]

ASKHAM (Westmorland)

Dedication- St Peter(?)

Valuation- Rectory:

1291: £17 3s 10d

1318: £2

Patronage- The church appropriated to the canons of Warter
priory, one of whom was customarily inst to the vicarage
upon his pres by the convent.

Vicars

Richard Settrington, OSA res 29 Oct 1295.[*Reg Halton* 1,
pp 54-5]

William Malton, OSA pres 2 Nov 1295 by Warter priory. Inst
19 Nov 1295.[Ibid, p 55]

John Claworth, OSA d 10 Aug 1346.[Reg Kirkby, fol 255r]

Robert Balne, OSA pres 10 Aug 1346 by Warter priory.[Ibid,
fol 254v] Res before 2 Aug 1359, when

John Winteringham, OSA, pres of Warter priory, inst.[Reg
Welton, fol 28v]

Robert Ferriby occ 11 Mar 1367.[Reg Appleby, fol 23v]

Henry res before 6 Sep 1380,

John Marton, OSA, pres of Warter priory, inst.[Ibid, fol
118r]

ASPATRIA (Allerdale)

Dedication- St Kentigern(?) Valuation- Rectory:

1291: £30

1318: £5

Vicarage:

1291: £6 13s 4d

1318: £1 6s 8d

Patronage- The church appropriated to the canons of Carlisle priory, but the patronage of the vicarage reserved to the bishop.

Vicars

Bartholomew Kertling, priest pres 25 May 1292 by the king
by reason of the vacancy of the see.[CPR, 1281-92,
p 492]

Alan Horncastle, priest col 25 May 1309.[Reg Halton 1,
pp 315-16]

Richard Melbourne, priest col 12 Sep 1318.[Ibid, p 172]

Master Nicholas Scranton d before 12 Jan 1334, when

Robert Bulby, priest col.[Reg Kirkby, fol 150r]

Adam Deyncourt. Will dated 20 Apr, proved 5 Jun 1357.

[Reg Welton, fol 17v; Test Karl, p 15]

Roger Leeds, priest col 30 May 1357.[Reg Welton, fol 16v]

Res before 28 Aug 1358, when
Adam Alneburgh, priest col.[Ibid, fol 24v]
William Arthuret. Will dated 1 Sep 1380.[Reg Appleby,
fol 115r; *Test Karl*, p 145]
Robert de Ponte res before 28 Jan 1386 in exchange for the
vicarage of Gilcrux with
Adam Steward, who on that account was col 28 Jan 1386.[Reg
Appleby, fol 131v]

BAMPTON (Westmorland)

Dedication- St Patrick	Valuation- Rectory:
	1291: 2 13 6s 8d
	1318: 4 2

Patronage- The church appropriated, 11 Dec 1287, to the
canons of Shap abbey, one of whom was customarily inst to
the vicarage upon his pres by the convent.[*Reg Halton* 1,
pp 39-40]

Vicars

Roger Barton, OPraem, pres of Shap abbey, inst 13 May 1300.

[*Reg Halton* 1, pp 122-3] Res 1 May 1309.[Ibid, p 319]

John Appleby, OPraem pres 6 May 1309 by Shap abbey. Inst
7 May 1309.[Ibid, pp 319-20]

John Hanville res before 19 Oct 1358, when

John Morland, priest, pres of Shap abbey, inst.[Reg Welton,
fol 25r]

John Askby. Will dated 8 Sep, proved 10 Sep 1362.[Ibid,
fol 51r/v; *Test Karl*, pp 68-9]

John Bampton, pres of Shap abbey, inst 11 Oct 1369.[Reg
Appleby, fol 18v]

John occ 9 Jun 1378.[Ibid, fol 97r]

William Wycliffe res 1382.[Ibid, fol 123v]

William Denton, OFraem, pres of Shap abbey, inst 1382.[Ibid]

BARTON (Westmorland)

Dedication- St Michael (?) Valuation- Rectory:
1291: £40
1318: £10

Patronage- The advowson originally held by the lord of the manor of Barton. Licence obtained for the alienation of the same by John Lancaster to the canons of Warter priory, 4 Aug 1316.[CPR, 131-17, p 523] Appropriated, 22 Nov 1318. [Reg Halton 2, pp 177-8] One of the canons was customarily inst to the vicarage upon his pres by the convent.

Rectors

Master William Corbridge, late pres of Roger Lancaster, knt, occ 17 Aug 1300. D 15 Aug 1304.[Reg Corbridge 2, no 1080; Reg Halton 1, p 221]

John Lowther, clerk, son of Hugh Lowther, knt, aged 15, pres 19 Aug 1304 by John Lancaster, knt.[Ibid, pp 220-1] Disp 11 Mar 1308 by Clement V to retain the rectory notwithstanding his minority.[CPL 2, pp 38-9] Inst 17 Sep 1308.[Reg Halton 1, pp 296-7] Granted licence of non-residence, 3 Feb 1315, to study for three years.[Ibid 2, pp 116-17] Res before 3 Feb 1321, when

Gilbert Sandale, subdeacon, pres of Warter priory, inst. [Ibid, pp 204-5] Res 22 Jun 1322.[Ibid, p 213]

Vicars

William Elvington, OSA pres 4 Jul 1322 by Warter priory. Inst 6 Jul 1322.[Ibid, pp 213-14] Res 20 Sep 1336. [Reg Kirkby, fol 174r]

William Kirkton, OSA pres 25 Sep 1336 by Warter priory. Inst 22 Oct 1336.[Ibid, fol 174r/v] Res 6 Jul 1345.

[Ibid, fol 250v]

John Fenton, priest pres 7 Jul 1345 by Warter priory.

Inst 16 Jul 1345.[Ibid, fol 250r/v]

John Sherburn, OSA res before 5 Aug 1354, when

Robert Ferriby, priest, pres of Warter priory, inst.[Reg

Welton, fol 4r] Res before 18 Oct 1354, when

John Wistow, priest, pres of Warter priory, inst.[Ibid,

fol 5v]

John Sherburn res before 18 Feb 1362, when

William Newton, priest, pres of Warter priory, inst.[Ibid,

fol 43r] Estate ratified, 1 Feb 1373.[CPR, 1370-4,

p 251]

BASSENTHWAITE (Allerdale)

Dedication- St Bega

Valuation- Rectory:

1291: £9

1318: £1 6s 8d

Patronage- The church appropriated to the canons of Jedburgh abbey.[*Fines sive Pedes Finium*, 2 vols, ed Joseph Hunter, Rec Com (London, 1835-44) 2, p 10] No perpetual vicarage ordained, and the church appears to have been given to the canons of Carlisle after the outbreak of war with Scotland.[Reg Kirkby, fol 196v]

BEAUMONT (Carlisle)

Dedication- St Mary

Valuation- 1291: £10

1318: not taxed

Patronage- The advowson belonged to the lord of the manor of Beaumont.

Rectors

Elias Thirlwall, priest, pres 5 Jul 1296 by Robert de la

Ferete.[Reg Halton 1, p 73]

Adam d 6 Jan 1306.[Ibid, p 248]

Walter Arthuret or Kirkandrews, acolyte, pres of Richard
le Brun, knt, inst 4 Feb 1306.[Ibid] Ordained sub-
deacon, 26 Feb 1306; deacon, 19 Mar 1306; priest, 17
Dec 1306.[Ibid, pp 246, 250, 273]

William le Brun d before 17 Nov 1339, when
Richard le Brun, priest, pres by Matilda le Brun.[Reg
Kirkby, fol 205v]

Thomas occ 29 Jul 1362.[Reg Welton, fol 48v]

Thomas Sourby. Will dated 8 Dec, proved 24 Dec 1365.[Reg
Appleby, fol 3r; *Test Karl*, pp 76-7]

Master Adam Caldbeck res before 15 Aug 1366, when
Walter Drmsheved, priest, pres of William Beauchamp, rector
of Kirkoswald, Thomas Tughall, vicar of Torpenhow, and
Robert Pay, inst.[Reg Appleby, fol 4v] D before 1 Oct
1380, when

Robert Croft, priest, pres of Hugh Dacre, inst.[Ibid, fol
118r]

BEWCASTLE (Carlisle)

Dedication- St Cuthbert(?) Valuation- 1291: £19
1318: not taxed

Patronage- The advowson belonged to the caonons of Car-
lisle priory.

Rectors

Master Robert Suthaik, clerk pres 17 May 1306 by Carlisle
priory.[Reg Halton 1, pp 251-2] Granted custody,
1306.[Ibid, p 253] Inst before 6 Mar 1311, when or-
dained deacon.[Ibid 2, p 30] Res before 16 Sep 1356
in exchange for the church of Stapleton with

p 569] Granted licence of non-residence, 7 Mar 1319, to study for five years.[Reg Halton 2, p 183]

Henry Appleby occ ~~temp~~ Bishop Ross, when res in exchange for the vicarage of the church of Morland with Robert Boyville.[Reg Kirkby, fol 148v] D 8 Feb 1342.[Ibid, fol 228r]

John Whittrigg, priest pres 19 Feb 1342 by Alexander Mowbray, knt.[Ibid, fol 227v] Inst 3 Mar 1342.[Ibid, fol 228r]

William York, clerk, pres of Alexander Mowbray, knt, inst 20 Feb 1353.[Reg Horncastle, fol 1v] Ordained acolyte, 8 Mar 1354.[Reg Welton, fol 63r] Granted licence of non-residence, 29 Mar 1354, to stay in the service of Ralph Neville for one year; 6 May 1356, in the service of Alice Neville for one year; 3 May 1357, in the service of Ralph Neville for two years; 26 Jun 1360, in the same for two years.[Ibid, fols 2v, 13v, 16v, 35r] Res before 17 Mar 1362, when Adam Crosby, priest, pres of Alexander Mowbray, inst.[Ibid, fol 44v]

Master Adam occ 21 Mar 1369.[Reg Appleby, fol 33r/v]

BOWNESS (Carlisle)

Dedication- St Michael (?)	Valuation-	1291:	£30
		1318:	£4 8s

Patronage- the advowson belonged to the lord of the manor of Bowness.

Rectors

Roald Richmond, clerk, pres by Adam de la Ferete before 8 Oct 1300, when custody of the church was granted

to Master John Bowes until pres of legitimate age to be admitted. [*Reg Halton* 1, p 135] Inst 16 Oct 1301, when also granted licence of non-residence for three years. Ordained deacon, 22 Dec 1302; priest, 1 Jun 1303. [*Ibid*, pp 201, 187] Granted licence of non-residence, 28 Aug 1306, to study for three years. [*Ibid*, p 264] D before 3 Jul 1307, when Roger Northburgh, clerk pres 3 Jul 1307 by Sir Richard le Brun, knt. Inst 12 Jul 1307. [*Ibid*, pp 283, 285] Res c 6 Dec 1317. [*Ibid* 2, p 171]

Walter, late pres of Richard le Brun, d 6 Oct 1342. [*Reg Kirkby*, fol 236v]

William son of Walter Kirkbythore pres 9 Oct 1342 by Richard le Brun. [*Ibid*] Res before 22 Jul 1354, when Master William Hall, pres of Robert le Brun, inst. [*Reg Welton*, fol 3v] Granted licence of non-residence, 5 Feb 1355, to study until 7 Jul; 1 Aug 1357, to study for one year; 2 Sep 1358, to study for one year; 8 Oct 1360, to study for one year. [*Ibid*, fols 8r, 18r, 26r, 36r] Dismissal of proceedings against him, 8 Aug 1357, for pluralism, as he also held the church of Kirkconnel, dio Glasgow. [*Ibid*, fol 62v] Estate ratified, 17 Dec 1369. [*CPR, 1367-70*, p 336] Master by 1377. [*Reg Appleby*, fol 94r] Res before 15 Apr 1381 in exchange for the church of Caldbeck with Thomas Barton, pres on that account of John le Brun. Inst 15 Apr 1381. [*Ibid*, fol 98r/v]

BRAMPTON (Carlisle)

Dedication- St Martin(?)

Valuation- Rectory:

1291: £18

1318: £1 2s

Vicarage:

1318: not taxed

Patronage- The church appropriated to the canons of Lanercost priory, who also held the advowson.

Vicars

Richard Caldecotes occ 24 Feb 1335.[Reg Kirkby, fol 161v]

Richard Caldbeck d before 23 Dec 1346, when

John Cugge of Carlisle pres by Lanercost priory.[Ibid, fol 255v] D before 18 Nov 1361, when

John Hayton, priest, pres of Lanercost priory, inst.[Reg Welton, fol 41r] Estate ratified, 12 Jul 1371.[CPR, 1370-4, p 123] Res before 4 Sep 1372, when

William Kirkby, priest, pres of Lanercost priory, inst.[Reg Appleby, fol 60r] Estate ratified, 24 Nov 1372.[CPR, 1370-4, p 222] Occ 19 Aug 1386.[CCR, 1385-9, p 258]

BRIDEKIRK (Allerdale)

Dedication- St Bridget

Valuation- Rectory:

1291: £60

1318: £13 6s 8d

Vicarage:

1291: £13 6s 8d

1318: £2

Patronage- The church appropriated to the canons of Guisborough priory, one of whom was customarily inst to the vicarage upon his pres by the convent.

Vicars

Robert Guer, OSA res 25 Jun 1307.[Reg Halton 1, p 284]

Robert Urry, OSA pres 30 Jun 1307 by Guisborough priory.

Inst 16 Jul 1307.[Ibid, pp 284-5] Res before 7 Jun

1316, when

Robert Walton, OSA, pres of Guisborough priory, inst.

[Ibid 2, p 123] Res before 29 Nov 1320, when

John Thweng, OSA, pres of Guisborough priory, inst.[Ibid,
p 203]

John Dauney, OSA occ 1 Mar 1342.[Reg Kirkby, fol 228r]

William Crathorne, OSA d before 25 Oct 1380, when

Peter Darlington, OSA, pres of Guisborough priory, inst.

[Reg Appleby, fol 118r]

BROMFIELD (Allerdale)

Dedication- St Kentigern(?) Valuation- Rectory:

1291: £53 6s 8d

1318: £17 6s 8d

Patronage- Licence obtained to appropriate the church to the monks of St Mary's, York, 10 Jul 1303.[CPR, 1301-7, p 149] Appropriated, 14 Jul 1303; the patronage of the perpetual vicarage reserved to the bishop.[Reg Halton 1, pp 199-200, 203-5]

Vicars

Ralph Acle col 12 Jan 1304.[Reg Halton 1, p 215] Occ

1312.[Ibid 2, p 57]

William Southwark res 30 Apr 1331.[Reg Ross, fol 133v]

William Otterington, priest col 1 May 1331.[Reg Ross, fol
134r] D before 20 Aug 1344, when

Master Hugh Whitelaw col. On 23 Jul 1344 Whitelaw had renounced the grace conceded to him by the apostolic see of prov to a benefice in the gift of the bishop of Carlisle.[Reg Kirkby, fol 249v] Res before 10 Oct 1344 in exchange for the church of Moorby, dio Lincoln, with

Roger Kirkoswald, who on that account was col 10 Oct 1344.

[Ibid, fols 248r-249v] Res 6 Aug 1377 in exchange for the church of Newbiggin with

John Culwen, who on that account was col 6 Aug 1377.[Reg Appleby, fol 94v]

BROUGH (Westmorland)

Dedication- St Michael(?) Valuation- Rectory:
1291: £30
1318: £6 13s 4d

Patronage- In dispute between Bishop Irton and Isabella Clifford and Idonea Layburn, the co-heiresses of Robert Vipont.[Reg Halton 1, pp 119, 140-1] John Langton was pres by the king, though this may have been by reason of wardship. In 1305, at the inquest held during the vacancy it was not known who the true patron was, whether the king, St Mary's, York, or Robert Clifford.[Ibid, pp 236-7] The king had certainly recovered the advowson against Clifford by 1332.[Reg Kirkby, fol 128r] The church was appropriated on 28 Apr 1343 to Queen's College, Oxford, the foundation of the last rector, Robert Eaglesfield, and a vicarage was ordained on 7 Jun 1344.[Ibid, fol 246v; CPL 3, p 88]

Rectors

John Langton occ 13 Feb 1291, when disp, at the king's request, to retain the rectories of Brough and 'Brideshale', dio Coventry and Lichfield, which he had held without papal disp.[CPL 1, p 526] Granted an indult, at the king's request, 21 Apr 1299, to retain the churches of Brough; Horncastle and Burwell, dio Lincoln; Loddiswell, dio Exeter; 'Brideshale', dio Coventry and Lichfield; Walpole, dio Norwich; and Reculver, dio Canterbury; the treasurership of Wells; and canonries and prebends of Wells, Salisbury, Chichester, Lichfield, Lincoln, York, Dublin, and Lanchester.[Ibid, p 581] Prov, 29 Jun 1299, at the king's request, to

the archdeaconry of Canterbury, notwithstanding that he held the above.[Ibid, p 583] Res c 8 Sep 1305 on his promotion to the see of Chichester.[Reg Halton 1. p 236]

Hugh de Burgh, clerk pres 4 Sep 1305 by the king.[Ibid, p 235] (William Corby, clerk pres 20 Sep 1305 by Robert Clifford.[Ibid, p 236]) Burgh inst 8 Oct 1305. [Ibid, p 237] Ordained subdeacon, 18 Dec 1305.[Ibid, p 242] Occ 6 May 1320.[CCR, 1318-23, p 189]

William Norwich d before 25 Feb 1332, when Robert Eaglesfield, clerk pres by the king. Inst 31 Jul 1332.[Reg Kirkby, fols 124r, 128r] Ordained deacon, 19 Dec 1332; priest, 23 Feb 1333.[Ibid, fols 122v, 123r] Royal writ sent to the bishop, 14 Jul 1342, ordering him not to compel Eaglesfield to reside, as he is one of the king's clerks.[Ibid, fol 104v]

Vicars

John Raynald of Appleby res c 12 Jan 1370 in exchange for the vicarage of St Michael's, Appleby with John Merton, who on that account was pres 12 Jan 1370 by Queen's College, Oxford.[Reg Appleby, fols 35v-36r]

BROUGHAM (Westmorland)

Dedication- St Wilfrid	Valuation- 1291: £13 6s 8d
	1318: £2

Patronage- The advowson belonged to the lord of the barony of Westmorland.

Rectors

Nicholas Cliburn occ 22 Dec 1290, 26 Apr 1305.[CCR, 1288-

96, p 186; *CCR*, 1302-7, p 329]

Robert Appleby, clerk, pres of Robert Clifford, knt, inst
10 Jun 1310. [*Reg Halton* 2, pp 17-8] Disp, 7 Mar 1311,
to retain the rectories of Brougham and Bolton, which
he successively obtained. [*CPL* 2, p 85]

Thomas Warthcop occ 18 Dec 1316, when ordained subdeacon.
[*Reg Halton* 2, p 136]

Thomas occ 17 Jun 1336, 28 Jan 1356. [*Reg Kirkby*, fol 172r;
Reg Welton, fol 12v]

Thomas Close occ 30 May 1357, when granted licence of non-
residence for as long as he should remain in the ser-
vice of Roger Clifford; 21 Jul 1359, for one year.
[*Ibid*, fols 16v, 28r] Will dated 13 Aug, proved 30 Aug
1362. [*Ibid*, fol 50r; *Test Karl*, pp 65-6]

Thomas Derby, clerk, pres of Roger Clifford, inst 18 Sep
1362. [*Reg Welton*, fol 50v]

John Merton, priest, pres of Roger Clifford, inst. [*Reg*
Appleby, fol 3v] Res before 8 Apr 1366, when

Thomas Derby, clerk, pres of Roger Clifford, inst. [*Ibid*,
fol 4r] Ordained priest, 19 Dec 1366. [*Ibid*, fol 79r]
Will dated 1 Apr, proved 14 Jun 1382. [*Ibid*, fol 123v;
Test Karl, pp 148-9]

BURGH BY SANDS (Carlisle)

Dedication- St Michael

Valuation- Rectory:

1291: £50

1318: *2 10s

Vicarage:

1291: £9

1318: not taxed

Patronage- The church appropriated to the monks of Holmcultram abbey, to whom the advowson of the perpetual vicarage also belonged.

Vicars

Hugh Hayton, priest pres 1 Jan 1338 by Holmcultram abbey.

[Reg Kirkby, fol 192Ar]

John Kirkby res c 16 Mar 1369 in exchange for the vicarage of Edenhall with

Eudes Ravenstonedale, who on that account was pres 16 Mar 1369 by Holmcultram abbey.[Reg Appleby, fol 30r] D before 4 Nov 1369, when

John Lukeson, priest, pres of Holmcultram abbey, inst.

[Ibid, fol 35r]

John Kane res 1381-2.[Ibid, fol 120v]

Richard Goodrich, priest, pres of Holmcultram abbey, inst 1381-2.[Ibid]

CALDBECK (Allerdale)

Dedication- St Kentigern	Valuation- 1291: £30
	1318: £5

Patronage- The patronage belonged to the bishop.

Rectors

Nicholas Wells occ 8 Feb 1311.[Reg Halton 2, p 29]

Master Adam Appleby. Mandate from Bishop Halton to his vicar-general, Master William Gosforth, rector of Ormside, to collate Master Adam to Caldbeck, should it fall vacant, Nov-Dec 1311.[Ibid, pp 38-9] Occ 29 Aug 1312.[CCR, 1307-13, p 549] Confirmation of col, 20 Apr 1315.[Reg Halton 2, p 103] Occ 1 Feb 1331.[Reg Ross, fol 131v] D before 24 Nov 1333, when

Master Robert Bramley, DCL, clerk col.[Reg Kirkby, fol 154r;
see Emden, *Oxford* 1, p 248] Granted letters dismiss-
sory, 12 Sep 1334.[Ibid, fol 151r] Res 10 Oct 1334 in
exchange for the church of Horncastle, dio Lincoln,
with

Master Pedro de Galicia col 1 Nov 1334.[Reg Kirkby, fols
151v-154r, 156r/v] Res 31 May 1335.[Ibid, fol 163v]

Nicholas Whittrigg, clerk col 12 Jun 1335.[Ibid] Ordained
deacon, 25 May 1336; priest, 21 Dec 1336.[Ibid, fols
171r, 178v] Granted licence of non-residence, 18 Jan
1336, to study for three years, 18 Jan 1336; 9 May
1342, for three years from 11 Jun; 30 Oct 1354, until
24 May 1355 to go to the Roman *curia*. [Ibid, fols 168v,
233r; Reg Welton, fol 5v] D before 22 Oct 1362, when

Master William Ragenhill, clerk col.[Ibid, fol 52r] Col
confirmed by the pope, 26 Jan 1363.[*CPL* 4, p 29]
Granted licence of non-residence, 6 Nov 1362, to study
for three years.[Reg Welton, fol 52v] Res 7 Jul 1369.
[Reg Appleby, fol 34r]

Master Thomas Salkeld, BCnL, prov c 3 Aug 1369.[Ibid, fol
31v] Estate ratified, 3 Nov 1370.[*CPR*, 1370-4, p 4]
Prov confirmed by the pope, 22 Mar 1371, at which time
he also held a canonry of Auckland with expectation of
a prebend.[*CPL* 4, p 163] D before 24 Aug 1379.[Reg
Appleby, fol 105v]

Master John Appleby col 24 Sep 1379.[Ibid, fol 106r] D
1 Oct 1380.[*CIPM* 15, nos 301-2]

Thomas Barton res before 15 Apr 1381 in exchange for the

church of Bowness with

Master William Hall, who on that account was col 15 Apr

1381.[Reg Appleby, fol 119r/v]

CAMERTON (Allerdale)

Dedication- unknown

Valuation- Rectory:

1291: £20

1318: £5

Patronage- The church appropriated to the canons of Carlisle priory, and originally there seems to have been a perpetual vicarage to which one of the canons was inst. However, it appears to have lapsed.

Vicar

Alan Frizington, OSA occ 4 May 1323.[CPR, 1321-4, p 286]

CARLATTON (Carlisle)

Dedication- unknown

Valuation- Rectory:

1291: £6 13s 4d

1318: not taxed

Patronage- The advowson originally belonged to the Scottish crown and was granted along with the manor of Fenrith by John Balliol to Anthony Bek, bishop of Durham, but in 1307 Edward I deprived him of the grant.[Fraser, *Antony Bek*, pp 55-62, 204-6] The king then granted the church to the canons of Lanercost priory, 17 Mar 1307 with licence to appropriate.[CPR, 1301-7, p 507] Appropriated, 18 Sep and 13 Oct 1308, and a perpetual vicarage ordained, of which the patronage belonged to the canons.[Reg Halton 1, pp 299-300; 2, pp 33-5]

Rector

Robert London, subdeacon, pres before 4 Sep 1301 by Anthony

Bek, bishop of Durham.[Reg Halton 1, pp 162-3] Ind

7 Oct 1301. Inst 12 Mar 1302.[Ibid, p 122] Ordained

deacon, 3 Apr 1305.[Ibid, p 230]

Vicars

Henry Newton, pres of Lanercost priory, inst 11 Aug 1320.

[Ibid 2, p 200]

William Stockdale, priest, pres of Lanercost priory, inst
8 Oct 1344.[Reg Kirkby, fol 241v]

Richard Hogg, pres of Lanercost priory, inst 1381.[Reg
Appleby, fol 118v]

CARLISLE, ST CUTHBERT'S (Carlisle)

Valuation- Rectory:

1291: £17 1s 4d
1318: £5

Patronage- Appropriated to the canons of Carlisle priory.
No perpetual vicarage ordained.

CARLISLE, ST MARY'S (Carlisle)

Valuation- Rectory:

1291: ?
1318: ?

Patronage- Appropriated to the canons of Carlisle priory,
the church being the nave of the cathedral priory. No
perpetual vicarage ordained.

CASTLE CARROCK (Carlisle)

Dedication- St Peter(?) Valuation- 1291: £6 10s
1318: not taxed

Patronage- The advowson belonged to the canons of Carlisle
priory.

Rectors

Stephen occ 1300.[Reg Halton 1, p 121]

Robert Helpston, clerk pres 21 Dec 1312 by Carlisle priory.

Inst 10 Jan 1313.[Ibid 2, pp 66-7] Ordained sub-
deacon, 10 Mar 1313; deacon, 14 Apr 1313; priest,
9 Jun 1313(?).[Ibid, pp 73, 77, 112] Occ 22 Jun 1338.
[Reg Kirkby, fol 192Bv]

Adam occ 6 Dec 1341, when granted licence of non-residence to
study for three years from 2 Feb 1342.[Ibid, fol 221r]

John Beghokirk, priest pres 14 Jan 1347 by Carlisle priory.

[Ibid, fol 256r]

Adam occ 31 Dec 1357, when cited to show cause why, as a leper, a co-adjutor ought not be assigned him.[Reg

Welton, fol 22r]

Thomas Carlton. Will dated 1 Sep 1380.[Reg Appleby, fol

115v; *Test Karl*, pp 146-7] D before 25 Oct 1380, when

John Colt, priest, pres of Carlisle priory, inst.[Reg

Appleby, fol 118r]

CASTLE SOWERBY (Cumberland)

Dedication- St Kentigern

Valuation- Rectory:

1291: £40 11s 8d

1318: £8

Patronage- Like Carlatton, the advowson originally belonged to the Scottish crown and was subsequently held by Anthony Bek, bishop of Durham until deprived in 1307. It was granted to the canons of Carlisle priory by Edward I on 4 Apr 1307 with licence to appropriate.[*CPR 1301-7*, p 516] Appropriated, 23 Apr 1307, and a perpetual vicarage ordained, of which the patronage belonged to the canons.[*Reg Halton 1*, pp 277-9] The prior and convent were inst on 3 Aug 1309. [Ibid, pp 323-4]

Rectors

Master Richard Witton res before 20 Apr 1294, when

Master William Lindores, clerk pres by King John of Scot-

land.[Ibid, pp 8-9]; but perhaps not effective, for

John Langton, chancellor of England pres 14 Jun 1294 by

Anthony Bek, bishop of Durham, by reason of a grant of the king of Scotland.[Ibid, p 14]

Henry Holm or Ryther, subdeacon, pres of Anthony Bek,

bishop of Durham, granted custody of the sequestration, 20 Nov 1295.[Ibid, p 56] Inst deferred until

pres might obtain disp from the apostolic see for plurality and granted licence of non-residence for three years, 27 Aug 1300.[Ibid, p 129] Charged with holding the churches of Castle Sowerby and Ryther, dio York, in plurality before Archbishop Greenfield, 29 May 1308.[*Reg Greenfield* 5, no 2678] D before 3 Aug 1309.[Ibid, pp 323-4]

Vicars

Alan Frizington, OSA, pres of Carlisle priory, inst 7 Sep 1309.[Ibid, p 325] Res before 3 Mar 1313, when John Shilton, OSA, pres of Carlisle priory, inst.[Ibid 2, p 73]

John Carlisle, OSA res before 24 Jul 1334, when Richard Wilford, OSA pres by Carlisle priory. Inst 6 Aug 1334.[*Reg Kirkby*, fol 146v]

Richard Sorey, OSA d before 10 Feb 1339, when Patrick Culwen, OSA pres by Carlisle priory.[Ibid, fol 202v] D before 27 Apr 1360, when

John Penrith, OSA, pres of Carlisle priory, inst.[*Reg Welton*, fol 34r]

John Cole occ 30 Jan 1378.[*Reg Appleby*, fol 84v]

John Carlisle, OSA, pres of Carlisle priory, inst 5 Jan 1386.[Ibid, fol 131v]

CLIBURN (Westmorland)

Dedication- St Cuthbert	Valuation- 1291: £13 6s 8d
	1318: £3 6s 8d

Patronage- The patronage belonged to the bishop.

Rectors

Henry Helpston occ 19 Mar 1306, when ordained subdeacon:

deacon, 2 Apr 1306; priest, 25 Mar 1307. [Reg Halton 1, pp 250, 276] D before 21 May 1317, when

John Burdon col. [Ibid 2, pp 145-6] Granted licence of non-residence to study for five years, 12 Dec 1317. [Ibid, p 154]

Master Henry Heyns of Ross, BCL occ 1331. [Reg Ross, fol

131r] Granted licence of non-residence, 5 Aug 1342,

for three years. [Reg Kirkby, fol 235r] Prov, 6 Jul

1343, to a canonry of Howden with expectation of a prebend, notwithstanding that he held Cliburn. [CPL 3,

p 134] Granted licence of non-residence, 23 Apr 1361, for two years. [Ibid, fol 38v]

CLIFTON (Westmorland)

Dedication- St Cuthbert(?) Valuation- 1291: £10
1318: £1

Patronage- The patronage belonged to the bishop.

Rectors

Master Peter Tilliol, priest granted Clifton *in commendam*,

7 Feb 1300. [Reg Halton 1, p 133] Col 8 Apr 1303.

[Ibid, p 198]

Master Henry Carlisle res before 7 Jun 1314, when

Master Thomas Caldbeck, clerk col. [Ibid 2, p 98] Res

before 30 Dec 1317, when

Master William Ribton, clerk col. [Ibid, p 154] Granted

licence of non-residence, 26 Jan 1321, to study for

two years. [Ibid, p 204] Ordained deacon, 18 Apr 1321;

priest, Jul 1321.[Ibid, pp 206, 208] Appointed master of the schools of Carlisle, 10 Sep 1333.[Reg Kirkby, fol 144v] Granted licence of non-residence, 26 Mar 1334, for two years; 9 May 1336, for two years; 27 Oct 1338, for one year; 25 Oct 1343, for two years. [Ibid, fols 149v, 170r, 193r]

Gregory Penrith occ 17 Dec 1345, when ordained deacon.[Reg Appleby, fol 252] Ordained priest, 1 Apr 1346.[Ibid, fol 252v]

Thomas Salkeld res 2 Sep 1354.[Reg Welton, fol 4v]

Thomas Salkeld, priest col 24 Sep 1354.[Ibid, fol 5r] Res before 7 Mar 1360, in exchange for the vicarage of Torpenhow with

Peter Morland, priest, who on that account was col 7 Mar 1360.[Ibid, fol 32v] Res before 21 Mar 1360 in exchange for the vicarage of Torpenhow with

Master Thomas Salkeld, priest, who on that account was col 21 Mar 1360.[Ibid, fol 33r] Returned as a pluralist, 1366, as he also held the vicarage of Crosthwaite by prov, 1362-3, and expectation of a benefice in the gift of the bishop, to the value of .25, both notwithstanding benefices already obtained.[Reg Appleby, fol 6v] Occ 20 Aug 1368.[Ibid, fol 21r]

Robert Merton res 30 Oct 1376 in exchange for the church of Newbiggin with

John Merton, who on that account was col 31 Oct 1376.[Ibid, fol 90v]

Thomas Kirkby occ 5 Jul 1379.[Ibid, fol 106r]

CROGLIN (Cumberland)

Dedication- St John the Baptist(?) Valuation- 1291: 29 15s 4d
1318: not taxed

Patronage- The advowson belonged to the lord of the manor of Croglin.

Rectors

Adam occ 15 Feb 1294. [*Reg Halton* 1, p 10]

Simon Laton, priest occ 30 May 1309, when granted licence of non-residence for three years. [*Ibid*, p 322] Possession of the benefice in dispute with Master William Edenhall, clerk, pres of Henry Wharton, the true patron; Simon agreed to pay Master William an annual pension of 5 marks in equal parts at Michaelmas and Easter, 21 Dec 1312. [*Ibid* 2, pp 65-6]

Master William Edenhall, clerk, pres of Henry Wharton, inst 5 Jun 1317. [*Ibid*, p 144] Ordained subdeacon, 18 Dec 1317. [*Ibid*, p 155]

John Wetwang, priest pres 24 Dec 1335 by Henry Wharton.
[*Reg Kirkby*, fol 164v]

Thomas. Will proved 8 Apr 1362. [*Reg Welton*, fol 44v-45r;
Test Karl, p 43]

Patrick Edenham, clerk, pres of Henry Wharton, inst 25 Apr 1362. [*Reg Welton*, fol 45r]

William Willerby occ 4 Jun 1372. [*Reg Appleby*, fol 58v]
Will dated 6 Apr 1376. [*Ibid*, fol 92v; *Test Karl*, pp 113-4]

John Mason, priest, pres of Hugh Wharton, inst 27 Mar 1377.
[*Reg Appleby*, fol 92v] Res c 7 Feb 1379 in exchange for the church of Dalston with

John Alanby.[Ibid, fol 99v]

John Mason occ 24 Sep 1379.[Ibid, fol 106r] Res 1380.

[Ibid,, fol 109r]

William Hutton, priest, pres of William Beauchamp, rector
of Kirkoswald, inst 1380.[Ibid]

CROSBY-ON-EDEN (Carlisle)

Dedication- St John

Valuation- Rectory:

1291: £14

1318: £1

Vicarage:

1291: £4 5s

1318: not taxed

Patronage- The church appropriated to the bishop, to whom
belonged the patronage of the perpetual vicarage.

Vicars

William Rockland, priest pres 24 Apr 1292 by the king by
reason of the vacancy of the see.[CPR, 1281-92, p 486]

Inst 11 Jun 1292.[Reg Romeyn 2, no 1376]

William Lisle occ 18 Mar 1301, when ordained subdeacon.

[Reg Halton 1, p 134] Res before 17 Nov 1310, when

James Worship, priest col.[Ibid 2, p 19]

Thomas Dalston occ 1337.[Reg Kirkby, fol 185r]

Robert Merk res 6 Sep 1355.[Reg Welton, fol 58v]

Roger Leeds, priest col 12 Sep 1355.[Ibid, fol 59r] Res
before 9 Jun 1357, when

John Grandon, clerk col.[Ibid, fol 17v] Ordained deacon,

23 Sep 1357; priest, 17 Mar 1358.[Ibid, fol 64r]

Probably res before 28 Jun 1362.[Ibid, fol 46v]

Thomas Kirkland, priest col 3 Jun 1362.[Ibid] Probably res
before 18 Sep 1362.[Ibid, fol 50v]

John Fitz-Roger, priest col 23 Sep 1362.[Ibid, fol 51r]
 John Crosby. Will dated 29 Oct, proved 21 Dec 1379.[Reg
 Appleby, fol 108r; *Test Karl*, pp 128-9]
 Robert Taylor, priest col 2 Jan 1380.[Reg Appleby, fol
 108v] Res before 14 Apr 1380 in exchange for the
 church of Scaleby with
 Elias, who on that account was inst 14 Apr 1380.[Ibid, fols
 108v-104r]

CROSBY GARRETT (Westmorland)

Dedication- St Andrew(?) Valuation- 1291: £24
 1318: £3 6s 8d

Patronage- The advowson belonged to the lord of the barony
 of Westmorland.

Rectors

Thomas de Burgh, deacon, pres of J. St John and T. Paynell,
 executors of Isabella Clifford by reason of the custody
 of the daughter and heiress of William Soulby, the
 true patron.[*Reg Halton* 1, p 96] Granted the church
in commendam, 14 Feb 1295.[Ibid, p 41] Inst 23 Mar
 1297.[Ibid, pp 96-7]

W. occ 1341.[Reg Kirkby, fol 220v]

Master Henry Sandford occ 11 Sep 1353, when granted licence
 of non-residence to study for one year; 10 Sep 1354,
 to study for one year; 3 Sep 1355, for one year; 21
 Nov 1356, for one year; 25 Nov 1359, for one year;
 23 Apr 1361, for one year; 26 Jun 1362, for one year.
 [Reg Welton, fols 1r, 4v, 58r, 14v, 30v, 38r, 46r]
 Will dated 23 Dec 1380, proved 27 Mar 1381.[Reg

Appleby, fol 120r; *Test Karl*, pp 147-8]

John Balne, clerk inst 27 Mar 1382.[Reg Appleby, fol 120r]

Ordained deacon, 1 Mar 1382, priest 22 Mar 1382.[Ibid.
fol 86r]

CROSBY RAVENSWORTH (Westmorland)

Dedication- St Laurence(?) Valuation- Rectory:

1291: £40

1318: £5

Vicarage:

1291: £5

1318: not taxed

Patronage- The church appropriated to the monks of Whitby
abbey, to whom the advowson of the perpetual vicarage also
belonged.

Vicars

John Linton d before 9 Dec 1361, when will proved.[Reg

Welton, fol 41v; *Test Karl*, pp 37-8]

Robert Threlkeld, priest, pres of Whitby abbey, inst 15 Dec

1361.[Reg Welton, fol 41v] D before 25 Sep 1362, when

John Reagill, priest, pres of Whitby abbey, inst.[Ibid, fol

51r] Occ 11 Mar 1367.[Reg Appleby, fol 23r]

CROSS CANONBY (Allerdale)

Dedication- St John(?)

Valuation- Rectory:

1291: £15

1318: £4

Patronage- Appropriated to the canons of Carlisle priory.
No perpetual vicarage ordained.

CROSTHWAITE (Allerdale)

Dedication- St Kentigern

Valuation- Rectory:

1291: £30 13s 4d

1318: £10

Vicarage:

1291: £20

1318: £4

Patronage- The church was appropriated to the monks of Fountains abbey, but patronage of the perpetual vicarage was reserved to the bishop.

Vicars

Master Geoffrey Wheathampstead, priest col 25 Aug 1294. [Reg Halton 1, pp 22-3]

Richard Greystoke, rector of Musgrave col 10 Jul 1313 and 27 Feb 1314. [Ibid 2, pp 79, 83] Disp, 25 Feb 1314, by virtue of letters of Berengar, cardinal bishop of Tusculum, for accepting a second benefice in contravention of his disp for bastardy. [Ibid, pp 85-6]

Richard occ 1331, 1338. [Reg Ross, fol 136v; Reg Kirkby, fol 196r]

Richard Easingwold d before 1352. [Reg Welton, fol 21r]

Thomas June, vs

William de Selario of Athelingfleet and John Henry of Broughton

Selario prov to the vicarage by Clement VI but obstructed by June. Henry granted surrogation to Selario by Innocent VI, 12 Jan 1357, in his right to the vicarage. Still in dispute, 11 May 1359. [Ibid; Reg Appleby, fol 11r]

Master John Welton, clerk col 19 May 1360. [Reg Welton, fol 34r] However, on 15 Nov 1359 the king had pres John Robard of Wylam, priest by reason of the late vacancy of the see. [CPR, 1358-61, p 307] On 25 May 1360 the bishop was sent a writ prohibiting the conferment of the vicarage as long as the right of patronage remained undecided. [Reg Welton, fol 34v] In the meantime,

William Essington was prov 30 Jun 1360, but in 1364 it was asserted that the prov had never been effected.

[Reg Appleby, fol 11r]

Peter Morland, vicar of Torpenhow granted the vicarage *in commendam* for six months, 2 May 1361.[Reg Welton, fol 38r] Res 14 May 1361.[Ibid, fol 38v]

John Boon, priest granted the vicarage *in commendam* for six months, 19 May 1361.[Ibid]

Thomas Eskheved, BCnL, vs

Master Thomas Salkeld

Eskheved pres 24 Jan 1363 by the king by reason of the vacancy of the see.[CPR, 1361-4, p 281] On 10 Apr 1363 the king ordered an inquest into the appeals of Master Thomas in derogation of the pres.[Ibid, p 362] Salkeld returned as a pluralist, 1366, by reason of his holding in additon to Clifton the vicarage of Cros-thwaite by prov, 1361-2.[Reg Appleby, fol 6v] Eskheved was granted an indult, 14 Sep 1374, to be non-resident to study civil and canon law for five years. [CPL 4, p 195] Disp, 27 Nov 1390, to hold for two years one other benefice with cure and a prebend of Norton.[Ibid, p 377]

CUMREW (Carlisle)

Dedication- unknown

Valuation- Rectory:

1291: £4 10s

1318: not taxed

Patronage- Church appropriated to the canons of Carlisle priory. No perpetual vicarage ordained.

CUMWHITTON (Carlisle)

Dedication- St Mary(?)

Valuation- Rectory:

1291: £8 14s

1318: not taxed

Patronage- Church appropriated to the canons of Carlisle priory. No perpetual vicarage ordained.

DACRE (Cumberland)

Dedication- St Andrew

Valuation- Rectory:

1291: £50

Vicarage:

1291: £9 2s 8d

Rectory with

Vicarage:

1318: £13 6s 8d

Patronage- The advowson belonged to the lord of the manor of Dacre.

Rectors

Edmund, clerk pres 1292 by Joan, widow of Ranulph Dacre,

knt before 10 Apr 1292, when custody of the sequestration was granted to William de Capella and William Somerset. [Reg Romeyn 2, no 1373]

Master Nicholas Appleby d before 1 Sep 1296, when

Master Henry Harclay, clerk pres by William Dacre, knt.

Granted custody of the sequestration, 24 Sep 1296.

Inst 25 Dec 1296. [Reg Halton 1, pp 85, 87-9] Ordained priest, 21 Dec 1297. [Ibid, p 108]

William Bowet or de Burgh. Will dated 24 May, proved 1 Jun 1359. [Reg Welton, fol 28r; Test Karl, p 25]

Walter Loughborough, clerk, pres of William Dacre, inst

25 Jun 1359. [Reg Welton, fol 28r] Granted licence of non-residence, 31 Jan 1360, to stay in the service of William Dacre for three years from 23 Jun; 12 May

1364, for two years.[Ibid, fol 32v; Reg Appleby, fol 1v] Res c 6 May 1369 in exchange for the church of Newton le Wold, dio Lincoln, with Master Peter Stapleton, pres on that account of Ranulph Dacre.[Reg Appleby, fol 17v] Res c 18 May 1370 in exchange for the church of Whirtburn, dio Durham, with William Orchard, who on that account was pres 18 May 1370 by Ranulph Dacre.[Ibid, fol 43r] Res 21 May 1370. [Ibid, fol 43v]

John Ingleby, priest pres 22 May 1370 by Ranulph Dacre. [Ibid]

John Dacre occ 30 Jan 1378.[Ibid, fol 101v]

DALSTON (Carlisle)

Dedication- St Michael

Valuation- Vicarage:

1291: £12 16s

1318: ?

Patronage- The patronage belonged to the bishop. Appropriated by Bishop Irton to the archdeacon and the school of Carlisle, but because it had been done without the king's licence, the appropriation was rescinded.[CCR, 1288-96, p 569] A licence obtained to appropriate, 8 Feb 1301.[CPR, 1292-1301, p 569] Appropriated to the bishop's table, 29 Mar 1301, and a vicarage ordained, 4 Jul 1307.[Reg Halton 1, pp 282-3, 286-8; Reg Corbridge 2, no 1093; Reg Greenfield 5, no 2495]

Rector

John Drokensford, clerk, pres of the king by reason of the vacancy of the see, inst 23 May 1292.[Reg Romeyn 2, no 1375] Disp, 27 Sep 1298, at the king's request, to retain the churches of Dalston; Hemingbrough, dio York; and Balsham, dio Ely; and canonries and prebends of York, Salisbury, Wells, Dublin, Kildare, St Martin's

le Grand in London, Auckland, and Darlington.[*CPL* 1,
p 577]

Vicars

Gilbert Darlington, deacon col 12 Jan 1304.[*Reg Halton* 1,
p 215] Ordained priest, 19 Sep 1304.[*Ibid*, p 223]

J. Carlisle, priest col 26 Mar 1310.[*Ibid*, pp 14-15]

Henry Hund d before 7 Nov 1356, when

Richard Aslackby, priest col.[*Reg Welton*, fol 14r] Res
before 28 Aug 1358, when

Roger Leeds, priest col.[*Ibid*, fol 24v]

John Middleton, priest col 6 Oct 1369.[*Reg Appleby*, fol
18v] Res before 17 Sep 1371 in exchange for the
church of Kirkandrews with

John March, who on that account was col 17 Sep 1371.[*Ibid*,
fol 48v] Will dated 16 May 1378, proved 6 Feb 1379.
[*Ibid*, fol 100r; *Test Karl*, pp 124-5]

John Alanby, priest col 5 Jun 1378.[*Reg Appleby*, fol 97r]
Res before 8 Feb 1379 in exchange for the church of
Croglin with

John Mason, who on that account was col 8 Feb 1379.[*Ibid*,
fol 100v] Appears to have res before 24 Sep 1379,
when he again occ Croglin.[*Ibid*, fol 106r]

Robert Lowther prov before 20 May 1385.[*Ibid*, fol 134r]

DEARHAM (Allerdale)

Dedication- unknown

Valuation- Rectory:

1291: ~~£~~13 6s 8d

1318: ~~£~~4

Vicarage:

1291: ~~£~~4 13s 4d

1318: not taxed

Patronage- Church appropriated to the canons of Guisborough priory, to whom the advowson of the perpetual vicarage also belonged.

Vicars

John Bridekirk occ 1 Mar 1342. [Reg Kirkby, fol 228r]

John Gilcrouce res before 31 Jan 1355, when

John Dearham, priest, pres of Guisborough priory, inst.

[Reg Welton, fol 8r] Res before 27 Jul 1365, when William Hayton, priest, pres of Guisborough priory, inst.

[Req Appleby, fol 2r]

DENTON, NETHER (Carlisle)

Dedication- St Cuthbert (?)	Valuation- 1291:	not taxed
	1318:	not taxed

Patronage- The patronage belonged to the bishop.

Rectors

Master Richard Oriol, priest col 7 Oct 1304. [*Reg Halton* 1,
p 226]

Alan Keele, priest col 26 Jul 1306. [Ibid, p 268]

John Culgaith, priest col 21 Jun 1309.[Ibid, p 322]

John Berinton, priest col 29 Jun 1317. [Ibid 2, p 145]

Richard Gretton col 23 Mar 1386.[Reg Appleby, fol 132r]

DUFTON (Westmorland)

Dedication- St Cuthbert	Valuation- 1291:	£13 6s 8d
	1318:	£2

Patronage- The advowson belonged to the lord of the manor of Dufton.

Rectors

Robert d 18 Jan 1294. [Rec Halton 1, p 6]

Henry le Waleys, clerk pres 1 Feb 1294 by John Greystoke,

knt. Custody of the church granted to William Bonks,
21 Feb 1294.[Ibid] Waleys inst 14 Jun 1299.[Ibid,
p 109] Granted licence of non-residence, 22 Feb 1299,
to study for two years.[Ibid, p 116] Ordained priest,
19 Sep 1304.[Ibid, p 223]

Roger Kendal, acolyte, pres of the king by reason of his
custody of the lands and heir of Ralph Greystoke,
inst 17 Jul 1324.[Ibid 2, p 209]

William Hawes res 12 Aug 1340.[Reg Kirkby, fol 212r]

Robert Helton, priest pres 8 Sep 1340 by Ralph Neville.
Inst 15 Sep 1340.[Ibid]

William Brampton. Will dated 10 Mar, proved 6 Nov 1366.

[Reg Appleby, fol 5r; *Test Karl*, pp 78-9]

William son of Robert Threlkeld pres 3 Nov 1366 by the king
by reason of his custody of the lands and heir of
William Greystoke.[*CPR*, 1364-7, p 330] Inst 25 Nov
1366.[Reg Appleby, fol 6r] Pres revoked 3 Feb 1367,
as the advowson had been assigned to Joan, widow of
William Greystoke in dower.[*CPR*, 1364-7, p 374]

Thomas Settrington pres before 14 Feb 1367 by Anthony Lucy
by reason of the dower of William Greystoke. Inquest
held on 11 Mar 1367 found Lucy to be the true patron.
[Reg Appleby, fol 23v]

EDENHALL (Cumberland)

Dedication- St Cuthbert	Valuation- 1291: £24 1s 4d
	1318: £6 13s 4d

Patronage- Church appropriated to the canons of Carlisle
priory before 4 Feb 1302, when confirmed by Archbishop
Corbridge.[*Reg Corbridge* 2, no 1093] The canons obtained a

licence to appropriate somewhat tardily, 8 Jul 1304.
[CPR, 1301-7, p 241]

Rector

Master Adam Kirkcudbright occ 20 May 1294.[Reg Halton 1,
p 111]

Vicars

John Loudham, deacon, pres of Carlisle priory, inst 24/5
Feb 1300.[Ibid, p 118] Occ 19 Mar 1317.[Ibid 2,
p 141]

Adam Warthcop occ 22 Jun 1338, 1341.[Reg Kirkby, fols
192Bv; 218v]

John Loudham d before 4 Jun 1362, when

John Marshal, priest, pres of Carlisle priory, inst.[Reg
Welton, fol 46r] Will dated 29 Jul, proved 24 Aug
1362.[Ibid, fol 49v; Test Karl, pp 64-5]

Eudes Ravenstonedale res c 15 May 1369 in exchange for the
vicarage of Burgh by Sands with

John Kirkby, who on that account was pres 15 May 1369 by
Carlisle priory.[Reg Appleby, fol 30r]

Thomas occ 22 May 1370.[Ibid, fol 43v]

Thomas Hayton occ 30 Jan 1378.[Ibid, fol 101v]

ESTON

Dedication- unknown	Valuation- 1291:	4 6s 8d
	1318:	not taxed

Patronage - The patronage belonged to the barony of Liddel.

Rectors

Simon Beverley, priest pres 26 Aug 1308 by the king by
reason of his custody of the lands and heir of John
Wake. Inst 1308.[Reg Halton 1, p 298]

John Kylemouth res before 11 May 1332, when
Thomas Riplingham, priest, pres of Thomas Wake of Liddel.
knt, inst.[Reg Melton 1, no 303]

R. Berwick occ 10 Mar 1334, when granted licence of non-
residence for three years.[Reg Kirkby, fol 149v]

William Dunesby, priest pres 16 Feb 1336 by Thomas Wake.
[Ibid, fol 164v]

Thomas Wrangham occ 4 Jan 1341.[Ibid, fol 214v]

John Dalston, priest col 28 Jul 1354 by lapse of time.

[Reg Welton, fol 3v] D before 22 Sep 1381, when
John Morton, clerk inst.[Reg Appleby, fol 121v]

FARLAM (Carlisle)

Dedication- St Thomas of
Canterbury

Valuation- Rectory:

1291: £7

1318: not taxed

Vicarage:

1291: not taxed

1318: not taxed

Patronage- Church appropriated to the canons of Lanercost
priory, to whom the advowson of the perpetual vicarage
also belonged.

Vicars

Simon Walton d before 13 Oct 1316, when

William Rickerby, priest, pres of Lanercost priory, inst.

[Reg Halton 2, p 126]

Thomas Derby d before 5 Apr 1361, when

Thomas Roke, priest, pres of Lanercost priory, inst.[Reg
Welton, fol 38r] Res 1373/4.[Reg Appleby, fol 71v]

Robert Hayton, priest, pres of Lanercost priory, inst
1373/4.[Ibid]

GILCRUX (Allerdale)

Dedication- St Mary(?)

Valuation- Rectory:

1291: £? 6s 8d

1318: 10s

Vicarage:

1291: £4 13s 4d

1318: not taxed

Patronage- Church appropriated to the canons of Warter priory, but the patronage of the perpetual vicarage reserved to the bishop.

Vicars

John le Storour of Penrith, priest col 26 Apr 1334.[Reg

Kirkby, fol 144r]

William Kirkby col 21 Oct 1364.[Reg Appleby, fol 2r] Res

before 21 Jul 1371 in exchange for the chantry of the church of Hutton with

Richard Ireland, who on that account was col 21 Jul 1371.

[Ibid, fol 47v]

Adam Steward res before 28 Jan 1386 in exchange for the vicarage of Aspatria with

Robert de Ponte, who on that account was col 28 Jan 1386.

[Ibid, fol 131v]

GREYSTOKE (Cumberland)

Dedication- St Andrew

Valuation- 1291: £120
1318: £20

Patronage- The advowson belonged to the lord of the barony of Greystoke.

Rectors

Gerard Wippens occ 1 Dec 1289, when a dignity of York was

reserved to him, notwithstanding that he held the

churches of Greystoke and Waddington, dio Lincoln; a

prebend of York; and a canonry of Lichfield with expect-

tation of a prebend.[*CPL* 1, p 507] Occ 28 Jan 1298.

[*Reg Halton* 1, p 106]

Master Richard Morpeth, pres of John Greystoke, granted custody of the sequestration, 16 Apr 1302.[*Ibid*, pp 134-5] Inst 7 Dec 1302.[*Ibid*, pp 177-8] Occ 20 Jul 1313.[*Ibid* 2, p 77]

Master Ralph Erghum, acolyte, pres of Ralph Greystoke, inst 5 Feb 1315.[*Ibid*, p 116] Granted licence of non-residence, 6 Feb 1315, to study for four years, and subsequently for a further three and seven years; 20 May 1339, for three years; 22 Apr 1342, for two years from 19 May; 29 Sep 1344, for three years from the previous 19 May; 12 Jul 1353, for one year; 12 Jul 1355, for three years.[*Ibid*, pp 115-16; *Reg Kirkby*, fols 203v, 229r, 247r; *Reg Welton*, fols 1r, 10v] Res 12 Oct 1357.[*Ibid*, fol 18v]

Richard Huttonroof, clerk, pres of William Greystoke, knt, inst 30 Oct 1357.[*Ibid*, fol 21v] Ordained acolyte, 31 Dec 1357; subdeacon, 17 Mar 1358; deacon, 26 Jun 1358; priest, 15 Sep 1358.[*Ibid*, fol 64r/v] D before 22 Jan 1366, when will proved.[*Reg Appleby*, fol 3r; *Test Karl*, pp 78-9]

John Hermthorp pres 24 Jan 1366 by the king by reason of his custody of the lands and heir of William Greystoke.[*CPR*, 1364-7, p 198] Inst 19 Feb 1366.[*Reg Appleby*, fol 3v]

John Glaston pres 28 Apr 1369 by the king by reason of his custody of the lands and heir of William Greystoke.

[CPR, 1367-70, p 233] Granted licence of non-residence,
12 Feb 1380, for two years.[Reg Appleby, fol 108v]

Master

Gilbert Bowet, priest pres 22 Dec 1382 by Ralph Greystoke.

Inst 22 Dec 1382.[YBI, Reg 12 (Neville), fol 117v; Reg
Appleby, fol 124v]

GRINSDALE (Carlisle)

Dedication- St Kentigern(?) Valuation- Rectory:

1291: £3 4s

1318: not taxed

Patronage- Church appropriated to the canons of Lanercost
priory. No perpetual vicarage ordained.

HAYTON (Carlisle)

Dedication- St Mary
Magdalene

Valuation- Rectory:

1291: £14 10s

1318: not taxed

Patronage- Church appropriated to the canons of Carlisle
priory. No perpetual vicarage ordained.

HUTTON (Cumberland)

Dedication- St James

Valuation- 1291: £4 2s 4d
1318: £2

Patronage- The advowson belonged to Carlisle priory.

Rectors

Richard d before 14 Jan 1310, when

Robert Parving, priest, pres by Carlisle priory. Inst

15 Jan 1310.[Reg Halton 2, p 13] Occ 27 Aug 1337.

[Reg Kirkby, fol 186v]

Master Richard Stanwix occ 24 Feb 1363.[CCR, 1360-4,

p 445]

Robert Lowther, pres of Carlisle priory, inst 5 Nov 1369.

[Reg Appleby, fol 19v] Granted licence of non-residence, 28 May 1379, to stay in the service of the prior and convent of Carlisle for one year.[Ibid, fol 103v] Res 1381 in exchange for the vicarage of Wigton with

John Welton, pres on that account of Carlisle priory.[Ibid, fol 120v]

Richard Lengleys occ 12 Jan 1396, when granted licence of non-residence for six months.[YBI, Reg 14 (Arundel), fol 77v]

IREBY (Allerdale)

Dedication- unknown

Valuation- Rectory:

1291: £ 20

1318: £ 4

Patronage- Church appropriated to the canons of Carlisle priory. No perpetual vicarage ordained.

IRTHINGTON (Carlisle)

Dedication- St Kentigern(?) Valuation- Rectory:

1291: £ 13 15s

1318: not taxed

Patronage- Church appropriated to the canons of Lanercost priory, to whom the advowson of the perpetual vicarage also belonged.

Vicars

Hugh d 1 Nov 1337.[Reg Kirkby, fol 187r]

Laurence Condray, subdeacon, pres of Lanercost priory, inst

3 Dec 1337.[Ibid, fol 187v] Ordained deacon, 20 Dec

1337.[Ibid, fol 190r] Deprived 1339.[Ibid, fol 204v]

ISEL (Allerdale)

Dedication- St Michael

Valuation- Rectory:

1291: £22 14s

1318: £5

Vicarage:

1291: £6

1318: not taxed

Patronage- Church appropriated to the canons of Hexham priory, to whom the advowson of the perpetual vicarage also belonged.

Vicars

William Wheatley occ 1297. [Reg Holmcultram, no 106c]

R. died before 16 Nov 1341, when

William Burton, priest, pres by Hexham priory. Inst 11 Jan

1342. [Reg Kirkby, fols 217A, 220r]

John Watton d before 28 Oct 1362, when

John Baynard, priest, pres of Hexham priory, inst. [Reg

Welton, fol 52v] D before 27 Feb 1386, when

John Mason, priest col, by a concession to the bishop from

Hexham priory. [Reg Appleby, fol 132r]

KIRKANDREWS (Carlisle)

Dedication- St Andrew

Valuation- 1291: not taxed

1318: not taxed

Patronage- The advowson belonged to the nuns of Marrick priory.

Rectors

Thomas occ 23 May 1336, when granted licence of non-

residence to study for three years. [Reg Kirkby, fol

170v]

John Palmer res before 12 Apr 1361, when

John Bampton, priest, pres of Marrick priory, inst. [Reg

Welton, fol 38r]

John March occ 26 Jan 1364, when granted licence of non-residence until 11 Nov 1364. [Reg Appleby, fol 1v]

Res before 17 Sep 1371 in exchange for the vicarage of Dalston with

John Middleton, pres on that account of Marrick priorv.

Inst 17 Sep 1371. [Ibid, fol 48v] Res c 13 May 1376

in exchange for a mediety of Aikton with

Thomas Roke. [CPR, 1374-7, p 275]

KIRKBAMPTON (Carlisle)

Dedication- St Peter (?)

Valuation- 1291: £18 10s
1318: Mediety 1-
£1
Mediety 2-
£2

Patronage- Like Aikton, the rectory was probably divided after 1202, but unlike Aikton, the advowsons appear to have been granted to the local mesne tenants holding of the barony of Burgh by Sands.

Twin Rectors

Mediety 1, 1293-1359

Walter le Butler, clerk, res before 14 Dec 1293, when

John Culgaith, priest, pres by Walter Bampton by reason of

his custody of the lands and heir of Robert Castle-

carrock. [Reg Halton 1, p 4] Inst 4 Feb 1294. [Ibid,

p 5] D before 1 Dec 1341, when John son of Thomas

Bampton pres by R. Bampton. [Reg Kirkby, fol 221r],

which pres of appears to have been ineffective, for

Master John Granger of Appleby, pres of John Moriceby,

Richard Hall, John Hall, Michael Appleby, and William

Eaglesfield, inst 16 Dec 1341. [Ibid] Res before

11 Oct 1343, when

William Appleby, priest, pres by William Eaglesfield,
Michael Taylor of Castle Carrock, and John Hall,
Richard Hall, and Thomas Hall of Kirkby Thore.[Ibid,
fol 240v] Inst 22 Oct 1343.[Ibid, fol 241r]

Thomas Bampton occ 7 Jun 1359, when granted licence of non-
residence for one year.[Reg Welton, fol 28r]

John Bampton occ 12 May 1361, when granted licence of non-
residence for one year from 16 May.[Ibid, fol 39v]

Mediety 2, 1318-61

Rectors

William Are occ 1318.[Reg Halton 2, p 184]

William Edenhall occ 20 Sep 1320, when ordained deacon.

[Ibid 1, p 201] Ordained priest, 18 Apr 1321.[Ibid,
p 206] Occ 22 Oct 1343.[Reg Kirkby, fol 241r] D be-
fore 3 Feb 1353, when

John atte Hurn of Thornton pres by Elizabeth, dowager
countess of Salisbury, who had recently recovered the
advowson against John son of Robert Bampton. Inst
24 Mar 1353.[Reg Horncastle, fol 1r] Res before
8 Aug 1361, when

Robert Witton, pres of Brian Stapleton, knt, inst.[Reg
Welton, fol 39r]

Uncertain Mediety, 1367

Richard Damysell res before 30 Apr 1367, in exchange for
the vicarage of Wigton with

William Cressop, who on that account was inst 30 Apr 1367.
[Reg Appleby, fol 9r]

KIRKBY STEPHEN (Westmorland)

Dedication- St John(?)

Valuation- Rectory:

1291: £ 90

1318: £ 10 6s 8d

Vicarage:

1291: £ 20 13s 4d

1318: £ 5

Patronage- Church appropriated to the monks of St Mary's, York, to whom the advowson of the perpetual vicarage also belonged.

Vicars

Thomas de Capella occ 20 Oct 1302. [Reg Halton 1, p 175]

Resigned before 27 May 1304, when

Thomas Leicester, priest pres by St Mary's, York. Inst
20 Jun 1304. [Ibid, pp 216-7] D before 21 Feb 1319,
when

Master Henry Rillington, chaplain, pres of St Mary's, York,
inst. [Ibid 2, p 180] D before 18 Nov 1319, when
John Botel, chaplain, pres of St Mary's, York, inst. [Reg
Kirkby, fol 176v]

John Bowes, the younger, priest pres 12 Oct 1336 by St
Mary's, York. Inst 19 Nov 1336, in spite of the prov
of Thomas son of Thomas Redmain, which was known at
the inquest held on 24 Oct. [Ibid, fol 176r/v] Bowes
granted Redmain an annual pension of 20 marks for his
lifetime on 30 Nov 1336, no doubt in compensation.
[Ibid, fol 175v] Will dated 30 Aug, proved 10 Sep
1362. [Reg Welton, fol 51r; Test Karl, pp 67-8]

John Danby, priest, pres of St Mary's, York, inst 14 Sep
1362. [Reg Welton, fol 50v]

Peter Morland occ 2 May 1371. [Reg Appleby, fol 47r] Estate

his custody of the lands and heir of Robert Clifford.

Thomas Riplingham, who on that account was pres 28 Jan 1352
by the king by reason of his custody of the lands and
heir of Robert Clifford. [CPR, 1350-4, p 211] Granted
licence of non-residence, 2 Aug 1353, for one year.

Adam Hutton, priest pres by the king by reason of his custody of the lands and heir of Robert Clifford. [CPR, 1354-8, pp 40, 117-8] Inst 20 Sep 1354. [Reg Welton, fol 4v] D before 3 Aug 1362. [Ibid, fol 48v] Will proved 4 Aug 1362. [Ibid; Test Karl, pp 56-7]

KIRKCAMBECK (Carlisle)

Patronage- The lord of the manor of Kirkcambeck and the prior of Carlisle appear to have exercised the right of patronage alternately.

Master Simon Tyrer d 13 Aug 1304. [Reg Halton 1, p 219]

Carlisle priory, whose right it was to present on this

occasion by reason of a certain composition made with Henry Tyrer, consented to by Richard his son. Nevertheless, Richard Tyrer pres Simon Tyrer, clerk, 16 Aug 1294. Custody of the church com to Crohedaik, 14 Sep 1304.[Ibid, pp 219-20]

Simon Tyrer, acolyte, pres of Richard Tyrer, patron *ista vice*, inst 9 Feb 1306.[Ibid, p 248] Ordained sub-deacon, 26 Feb 1306; deacon, 21 Sep 1308.[Ibid, pp 246, 306]

John Southwell, priest col 12 Jan 1387 by lapse of time.

[Reg Appleby, fol 134v] Res before 22 Feb 1387 in exchange for a mediety of Burnsall, dio York with William Kersal, priest, pres on that account of Carlisle priory. Inst 22 Feb 1387.[Ibid]

KIRKLAND (Cumberland)

Dedication- St Laurence	Valuation- 1291: £40
	1318: £8

Patronage- The patronage belonged to the bishop.

Rectors

Master Adam of Newcastle, priest col 14 May 1295.[Reg

Halton 1, p 35]

Master Gilbert Halton, subdeacon col 5 May 1306.[Ibid, p 251] Occ 26 Nov 1311.[Ibid 2, p 41]

Master Thomas Halton. Mandate from Bishop Halton to his vicar-general, Master William Gosforth, rector of Ormside to collate Master Thomas to Kirkland, should

it fall vacant, Nov-Dec 1311.[Ibid, pp 38-9] Occ
22 Sep 1319, when ordaine priest.[Ibid, p 191]

William Denton occ 4 Nov 1336, when he granted an annual
pension of 20 marks to John Skelton, clerk for his
lifetime, probably in compensation (see 'Kirkby
Stephen') for his prov to the church not being effect-
ed.[Reg Kirkby, fol 175v] The executors of the prov,
the abbot of Holmcultram, the prior of Carlisle, and
the archdeacon were blocked by Bishop Kirkby from exe-
cuting the papal mandate, and possession of the church
was in dispute until 1345.[See above, pp 191-7]

John Skelton occ 10 Apr 1344, when conceded letters dimis-
sory.[Reg Kirkby, fol 251r] Dismissal of further pro-
ceedings against him, at the request of the archbishop
of York and Ralph Neville, for his retention of the
church 4 Jun 1345.[Ibid, fol 250r] Granted licence of
non-residence for three years, 5 Nov 1345.[Ibid, fol
251r]

John Langholm, vs

John Kirkby

Kirkby prov 25 Oct 1349, but in 1372 it was asserted
that the prov had never been effected.[Reg Appleby,
fol 52r: MS says 8 Innocent VI, but 8 Clement VI is
the more probable date] Disp, 5 Dec 1350, to hold an
additional benefice.[CPL 3, p 394] Res claim before
20 Oct 1359, when Hugh Arlam prov.[Ibid, pp 603-4, 608]
Langholm col 14 Sep 1350.[Reg Appleby, fol 58v]

William Airmyn occ 4 Apr 1314.[Ibid, p 241] Res before
8 Jan 1317, when

Richard Airmyn, priest, pres of the 'true patrons', granted
the church *in commendam* for six months.[Ibid 2, p 132]

Robert Tymparon occ 10 Jan 1320.[Ibid, p 232] Granted
licence of non-residence for two years, with disp for
his absence to date, 29 Apr 1331.[Reg Ross, fol 133v]
Res before 23 Jan 1333, when

Thomas Barton, clerk pres by the king by reason of his cus-
tody of the lands and heir of Patrick Suthaik and of
the forfeited lands of Walter Corry, in association
with Peter Tilliol and Walter Kirkbride. Pres 2 Feb
1333 by Peter Tilliol, knt, separately. The bishop
ordered by the official of archbishop of York, 20 Jun
1333, to inst Barton within 15 days.[Reg Kirkby, fol
142r/v] Ordained acolyte and subdeacon, 18 Sep 1333.
Ibid, fol 128v] Granted licence of non-residence to
study for three years.[Ibid, fol 143v] D before 25
Jul 1362.[Reg Welton, fols 46v-47r] Will proved 27
Jul 1362.[Ibid, fols 47r-48r; *Test Karl*, pp 53-4]

John Boon, priest, pres of Robert Tilliol, knt, inst 25 Jul
1362.[Reg Welton, fol 46v] Granted licence of non-
residence, 27 Jul 1362, for one year.[Ibid, fol 47v]
Estate ratified 12 Dec 1364.[*CPR, 1364-7*, p 61] Res
c 13 May in exchange for the church of Lowther with
Thomas Strickland, who on that account was pres 13 May 1373
by the king by reason of his custody of the lands and
heir of Robert Tilliol, knt.[*CPR, 1370-4*, p 281] Res

c 30 Jul 1373 in exchange for the wardenship of the hospital of Bawtry, dio York, with Thomas Sleagill, who on that account was pres 30 Jul 1373 by the king by reason of his custody of the lands and heir of Robert Tilliol, knt.[Ibid, p 328]

Thomas Maddingle pres 26 Jun 1375 by the king by reason of his custody of the lands and heir of Robert Tilliol, knt.[CPR, 1374-7, p 131]

Robert Kirkby, clerk pres 6 Aug 1375 by the king by reason of his custody of the lands and heir of Robert Tilliol, knt.[Ibid, p 131] Inst 5 Dec 1375.[Reg Appleby, fol 89r]

John Norfolk, the younger pres 23 Apr 1376 by the king by reason of his custody of the lands and heir of Robert Tilliol, knt.[CPR, 1374-7, p 264] Granted licence of non-residence, 21 Jun 1376, for one year.[Reg Appleby, fol 89v] Occ 20 Jun 1378.[Ibid, fol 97r]

KIRKOSWALD (Cumberland)

Dedication- St Oswald	Valuation- 1291: £48 1s 5d
	1318: £5

Patronage- The advowson pertained to the barony of Burgh by Sands.

Rectors

Walter Langton res 18 Mar 1293.[Reg Halton 1, p 3]

Master Nicholas Lovetoft, clerk pres 26 Mar 1293 by Thomas Multon of Gilsland.[Ibid, pp 3-4] Disp to hold one benefice in addition to the churches of Kirkoswald, Wallop, dio Winchester, and Stoke Canon, dio Coventry

and Lichfield and a canonry and prebend of the royal chapel of Wolverhampton, 29 Aug 1310. [CPL 2, p 75]

William Druel occ 17 Oct 1316. [Reg Halton 2, p 128]

Richard de Monte, subdeacon, pres of John Castre, knt, inst 7 Jun 1323. [Ibid, pp 222-3] As a member of the queen's household, his possessions were under special protection in Aug 1324, when the sheriffs were ordered to arrest all men of the dominion and power of the king of France and their goods. [CCR, 1323-7, p 216] Occ 15 Sep 1346, when certified to the chancery as the only alien beneficed in the diocese. [Reg Kirkby, fol 254v] D before 24 Mar 1362, when will proved. [Reg Welton, fol 44v; Test Karl, p 42]

Master John Appleby, pres of Ranulph Dacre of Gilsland, inst 7 Apr 1362. [Reg Welton, fol 44v] Occ 13 Aug 1363. [Reg Appleby, fol 1r]

William Beauchamp inst 22 Jun 1364. [Ibid, fol 2r] Occ 1380. [Ibid, fol 109r]

LAZONBY (Cumberland)

Dedication- St Nicholas	Valuation- Rectory:
	1291: £6 13s 4d
	1318: £1
	Vicarage:
	1291: £7 6s 8d
	1318: £1

Patronage- Church appropriated to the canons of Lanercost priory, but patronage of the perpetual vicarage reserved to the bishop.

Vicars

William Halton, priest col 26 Dec 1300. [Reg Halton 1, p 131] D before 8 Oct 1316, when

1334; 4 Nov 1336, for three years from 24 Jun 1337;
25 Jul 1342, for two years from the previous 19 May.
[Ibid, fols 170v, 173r, 234v] D before 15 Apr 1358,
when will proved.[Reg Welton, fols 23v-24r; Test Karl,
pp 17-19]

William Londres, priest, pres of Thomas Musgrave, knt, by
reason of the dower of Isabella, widow of Robert
Clifford, inst 30 Apr 1358.[Reg Welton, fol 23v]
Granted licence of non-residence, 17 May 1359, to stay
in the service of Thomas Musgrave for one year; 22 Nov
1360, in the same for one year.[Ibid, fols 27r, 36v]
Res before 19 May 1362 in exchange for the church of
Addingham, dio York, with
Robert Wolseley, priest, pres on that account of Thomas
Musgrave, knt. Inst 19 May 1362.[Ibid, fol 45r/v]
Will dated 2 Aug 1367.[Reg Appleby, fol 14v; Test
Karl, pp 86-7]

MELMERBY (Cumberland)

Dedication- St John the	Valuation- 1291: £13 13s 4d
Baptist(?)	1318: £2

Patronage- The advowson belonged to the lord of the manor
of Melmerby.

Rectors

Gervase occ 2 Mar 1303.[Reg Halton 1, p 185] D 25 Jun
1332.[Reg Kirkby, fol 142v]

Thomas Berneston, chaplain pres 1 Jul 1332 by Denise, widow
of John Wigton, knt.[Ibid] Inst 27 Jul 1332.[Ibid,
fol 124r]

Thomas Blyth occ 1342.[Ibid, fol 236r] Res before 22 Feb 1343 in exchange for the church of Brightwalton, dio Salisbury, with John Mansergh, who on that account was pres 18 Jan 1343 by Robert Parving, knt. Inst 22 Feb 1343.[Ibid, fols 237v-238r]

Roger Cromwell, clerk col 3 Oct 1343 by lapse of time, (probably due to the death of Robert Parving, the patron; cf *CIPM* 8, no 458).[Ibid, fol 241r]

Robert Gynse, clerk pres 23 Jul 1346 by Margaret Wigton. [Ibid, fol 254r]

Robert Bromfield occ 25 Apr 1354.[*CCR*, 1354-60, p 65] D before 15 Dec 1354.[Reg Welton, fol 7r] Will proved, 30 Nov 1354.[Ibid, fol 6r; *Test Karl*, pp 5-6]

Henry Wakefield, clerk, pres of Adam Parving, inst 15 Dec 1354.[Reg Welton, fol 7r] Res before 2 Aug 1359 in exchange for the church of Sharnford, dio Lincoln, with William Fulhowe, priest pres on that account of Adam Parving, knt. Inst 2 Aug 1359.[Ibid, fol 28v; *CPR*, 1358-61, p 234] Granted licence of non-residence, 7 May 1360, for two years; 19 Jun 1364, for five years. [Reg Welton, fol 36r; Reg Appleby, fol 2r]

John occ 4 Jun 1372.[Ibid, fol 58v]

MORLAND (Westmorland)

Dedication- St Laurence(?)	Valuation- Rectory:
	1291: £80
	1318: £13 6s 8d
	Vicarage:
	1291: £26 13s 4d
	1318: £4

Patronage- Church appropriated to the monks of St Mary's, York, to whom the advowson of the perpetual vicarage also belonged.

Vicars

John Warwick, deacon pres 30 Jul 1313 by the king by reason of the vacancy of the abbacy of St Mary's, York. [Reg Halton 2, pp 79-80] Inst 4 Jun 1314. [Ibid, pp 55-6] Ordained priest, 23 Mar 1314. [Ibid, p 89] D before 2 Aug 1316, when

Master Henry Rillington pres of St Mary's, York, inst. [Ibid, p 124]

Robert Boyville occ temp Bishop Ross, when res in exchange for the church of Bolton with

Henry Appleby. [Reg Kirkby, fol 148v] Occ 19 Oct 1332.

[Ibid, fol 124r] Res before 10 Mar 1335 in exchange for the vicarage of Darlington, dio Durham, with Richard Hannington, who was pres on that account 27 Jan 1335 by St Mary's, York. Inst 10 Mar 1335. [Ibid, fols 160v-162r] D before 30 Aug 1362, when will proved. [Reg Welton, fol 50r; Test Karl, p 66]

John Marrays, priest, pres of St Mary's, York, inst 14 Sep 1362. [Reg Welton, fol 50v] Res before 13 Dec 1363 in exchange for the church of Welbury, dio York, with

William Lasingby, priest, pres on that account of St Mary's, York. Inst 13 Dec 1363. [Reg Appleby, fol 1r/v] Res c 3 Aug 1368 in exchange for the vicarage of Helmsley, dio York, with

John Fray, who on that account was pres 30 Jul 1368 by St

Mary's, York.[Ibid, fol 22r/v]

MUSGRAVE (Westmorland)

Dedication- St Theobald	Valuation- 1291: £13 6s 8d
	1318: £1

Patronage- The patronage belonged to the bishop.

Rectors

William Burdon, subdeacon occ 21 Jan 1299, when granted

licence of non-residence to study for seven years.

[*Reg Halton* 1, p 114] Probably res c 23 Jul 1303.

[Ibid, pp 206-7]

Robert Halton col 12 Jan 1304.[Ibid, p 215] Ordained

deacon, 21 Dec 1303; priest, 3 Apr 1305.[Ibid, pp 213, 231]

Richard Greystoke occ 23 Dec 1312, when ordained subdeacon;

deacon, 10 Mar 1313; priest, 14 Apr 1313.[Ibid 2, pp

69, 34, 77] Disp, 25 Feb 1314, by virtue of letters

of Berengar, cardinal bishop of Tusculum, for accept-

ing a second benefice, Crosthwaite vicarage, in con-

travention of his disp for bastardy.[Ibid, pp 85-6]

John Burdon, clerk col 11 Jul 1313.[Ibid, p 79] Res c 21

May 1317.[Ibid, pp 145-6]

Master Thomas Goldington, clerk col 27 May 1317.[Ibid, p

146] Granted licence of non-residence, 3 Nov 1317, to

study for three years at Montpellier.[Ibid, p 152]

Ordained subdeacon, 18 Dec 1317.[Ibid, p 155] Master

by 30 Jul 1324, when granted licence of non-residence

to study for two years from Michaelmas.[Ibid, pp 209-

101] As king's clerk, prov, 15 May 1328, to a canonry

and prebend of Norton, dio Durham, notwithstanding that he held the church of Musgrave.[*CPL* 2, p 274]

Res in exchange for the prebend of 'Hatherdon' in the royal free chapel of Wolverhampton before 1 Feb 1331, when

Robert Dunham, priest col.[*Reg Ross*, fol 131v] Occ 4 Feb 1332.[*CPR*, 1330-4, p 250]

Simon Sandford occ 16 Nov 1334, when ordained subdeacon.

[*Reg Kirkby*, fol 158r] Ordained deacon, 1 Apr 1335; priest, 15 Apr 1335.[*Ibid*, fol 163r]

Adam Leverton col 4 Nov 1337.[*Ibid*, fol 187r]

John Bridekirk occ 1339, when granted licence of non-residence for three years while engaged in the business of Master T. Bridekirk, his brother, at the papal *curia* or elsewhere.[*Ibid*, fol 202v]

Master John Stockton occ 3 Mar 1341, when ordained deacon.

[*Ibid*, fol 237v] D 1350 at Avignon.[*CPP* 1, p 294]

William Sandford col 1350.[*Reg Appleby*, fol 1v] Robert Keirot prov 29 Feb 1356, but in 1364 it was asserted that the prov had never been effected.[*Ibid*, fol 9v]

William Ellerton occ 1350 x 1359.[*Ibid*, 1 v]

John Soulby pres 16 Jun 1359 by the king by reason of the late vacancy of the see.[*Reg Welton*, fol 31r; *CPR*, 1358-61, p 226] Granted letters dimissory, 16 Aug 1360.[*Reg Welton*, fol 35v] D before 18 Jul 1361.[*Ibid*, fol 39r] Will proved 10 Jan 1362.[*Ibid*, fol 41v: *Test Karl*, pp 38-9]

Peter Morland, priest col 18 Jul 1361.[*Reg Welton*, fol 39r]

Robert Merton, priest, pres of William Crackenthorpe, inst.

[Ibid, fol 18r] Res 23 Oct 1376.[Reg Appleby, fol 89v]

Thomas Strickland, clerk, pres of William Crackenthorpe, inst 24 Oct 1376.[Ibid] Res 26 Oct 1376.[Ibid, fol 90r]

John Merton pres of William Crackenthorpe, inst 27 Oct 1376.[Ibid] Res 30 Oct 1376 in exchange for the church of Clifton with

Robert Merton, pres on that account of William Crackenthorpe. Inst 31 Oct 1376.[Ibid] Res 3 Nov 1376. [Ibid, fol 90v]

Robert Merton, priest, pres of William Crackenthorpe, inst 4 Nov 1376.[Ibid] Res 26 Jul 1377.[Ibid, fol 94v]

John Culwen, priest, pres of William Crackenthorpe, inst 30 Jul 1377.[Ibid, fol 94r] Res 6 Aug 1377 in exchange for the vicarage of Bromfield with

Roger Kirkoswald, priest, pres on that account of William Crackenthorpe. Inst 6 Aug 1377.[Ibid, fol 94v] Res 22 May 1378.[Ibid, fol 98r]

Robert Merton, priest pres 26 May 1378 by William Crackenthorpe.[Ibid, fol 97v]

ORMSIDE (Westmorland)

Dedication- St James(?) Valuation- 1291: £13 6s 8d
1318: £2

Patronage- The patronage belonged to the bishop.

Rectors

Master William Gosforth, priest, granted the church in com-

commendam, 26 Aug 1294. [*Reg Halton* 1, p 22] Disp, 20 Mar 1309, to retain all but one of the churches of Ormside, 'Castlenuk', dio Glasgow, Gosforth, dio York, and Abbots Leigh, dio Lincoln, together with a canonry and prebend of Dunblane. [*CPL* 2, p 53] D before 23 Apr 1318. [*Reg Halton* 2, pp 171, 176-7]

John Morland, chaplain, granted the church *in commendam* for six months, 21 Oct 1320. Col 26 Sep 1322. [*Ibid*, pp 223-4]

Master John Caldew, BCL occ 12 Oct 1328, when Archbishop Melton ordered Bishop Ross to grant him licence of non-residence to study. [*Reg Melton* 1, no 291] Prov, 11 Dec 1329, to a canonry of Howden with expectation of a prebend, notwithstanding that he held the church of Ormside. [*CPL* 2, p 322] Reservation of a benefice in the gift of the bishop of Durham, 4 Nov 1332, notwithstanding that he held a canonry of Howden with expectation of a prebend and the church of Ormside, which latter he was to resign. [*Ibid*, p 389]

Robert Rissington occ 22 Aug 1343, when granted licence of non-residence to study for three years. [*Reg Kirkby*, fol 240v]

Master John Appleby occ Sep 1352. [*Durham, Prior's Kitchen, Reg Hatfield*, fol 7r] Res before 29 Apr 1362, when John Greet, priest col. [*Reg Welton*, fol 45r] Granted licence of non-residence, 12 Apr 1364, to stay in the service of Roger Clifford (no time specified). [*Reg Appleby*, fol 1v]

Robert Bix, priest col 18 Mar 1368.[Ibid, fol 15r]

ORTON (Westmorland)

Dedication- All Saints(?) Valuation- Rectory:
1291: £40
1318: £5
Vicarage:
1291: £10
1318: not taxed

Patronage- Church appropriated to the canons of Conishead priory, one of whom was customarily inst to the perpetual vicarage upon his pres by the convent.

Vicars

Richard Ravenglass, OSA granted custody of the vicarage,

7 Feb 1294.[Reg Halton 1, p 6]

Richard of Barnard Castle, priest pres 17 May 1294 by

Conishead priory.[Ibid, p 8]

Henry occ 29 Jan 1303.[Ibid, p 178]

Thomas Appleby, OSA d before 13 Apr 1338, when

Richard Wessington, OSA pres by Conishead priory.[Reg
Kirkby, fol 192Av] Commission to the official to
inst, 22 Jun 1338.[Ibid, fol 192Br]

Robert Bardsley d before 12 Feb 1374, when

Thomas Bell, OSA, pres of Conishead priory, inst.[Reg
Appleby, fol 71v]

ORTON, GREAT (Carlisle)

Dedication- St Giles Valuation- 1291: £8
1318: not taxed

Patronage- The advowson belonged to the lord of the manor of Great Orton.

Rectors

John occ 19 Apr 1303.[Reg Halton 1, p 178]

John Whittrigg occ 9 Jun 1324, when ordained deacon.[Ibid 2,
p 208] Res 30 Jun 1337.[Reg Kirkby, fol 184r]

John Whittrigg, priest, pres of John Orton, knt, inst 1 Jul
1337.[Ibid, fol 184v] Res before 11 Nov 1337.[Ibid,
fol 187v]

William Arthuret, priest pres 8 Nov 1337 by John Orton,
knt. Inst 3 Dec 1337.[Ibid] Will proved 3 Mar 1376.
[Reg Appleby, fol 92r; Test Karl, p 112]

Richard Langwathby, priest, pres of Clement Skelton and his
wife Joan, daughter of Giles Orton, inst 17 Mar 1377.
[Reg Appleby, fol 42r]

OUSEBY (Cumberland)

[illegible]

Patronage- The patronage belonged to the bishop.

Rectors

Roger Poitevin col 21 Jul 1295, provided that he reside in accordance with his disp for bastardy. [*Reg Halton* 1, p 44] Res before 24 Sep 1304, when

Gilbert Halton col. Granted licence of non-residence to study for seven years, 25 Sep 1304.[Ibid, p 218] Ordained subdeacon, 17 Apr 1305.[Ibid, p 231] Res before 5 May 1306, when

Master Adam Appleby, clerk col.[Ibid, p 251] Ordained sub-
deacon, 17 Dec 1306; deacon, 18 Feb 1307; priest, 25
Mar 1307.[Ibid, pp 218, 231, 275]

Robert Halton, priest col 9 Jul 1312.[Ibid 2, pp 102-3]

Res before 23 Sep 1316, when

Master Thomas Caldbeck, priest col.[Ibid, p 125] Res before 28 May 1318, when

Master John Grayville, BTh, col.[Ibid, p 169] Granted licence of non-residence to study for three years. [Ibid, p 172]

William Denton occ 17 Feb 1359, when granted licence of non-residence, at the request of William Lancaster, until 29 Sep 1359.[Reg Welton, fol 26r] D before 14 May 1359, when

Master John Welton, clerk col.[Ibid, fol 27v]

Robert Welton, clerk col 15 Oct 1360.[Ibid, fol 35v]

Granted letters dimissory, 17 Oct 1360.[Ibid, fol 36r]

Res 30 Nov 1361.[Ibid, fol 41r]

Richard Ulvesby, priest col 2 Dec 1361.[Ibid] D before 3 Mar 1362, when will proved.[Ibid, fols 43v-44r; *Test Karl*, pp 40-2]

Thomas Kirkland, priest col 18 Sep 1362.[Reg Welton, fol 50v]

Nicholas Stapleton col 27 Jul 1365.[Reg Appleby, fol 2r]

Res before 10 Apr 1368 in exchange for the church of Stapleton with

William Strickland, clerk, who on that account was col 10 Apr 1368.[Ibid, fol 17v]

John Waterward, priest col 26 Dec 1369.[Ibid, fol 19v]

Fres 13 Nov 1375 by the king by reason of the late vacancy of the see.[*CPR, 1374-7*, p 196]

Simon Wharton occ 22 Jan 1376, when estate ratified.[Ibid, p 216] Granted licence of non-residence, 6 Jun 1376,

to study for three years; 6 Jun 1379, to study for
three years.[Reg Appleby, fols 89v, 104v] Occ 5 Jul
1379.[Ibid, fol 106r]

Robert Witton, BCnL occ 1390.[Emden, *Cambridge*, p 663]

PENRITH (Cumberland)

Dedication- St Andrew

Valuation- Rectory:

1291: £40 11s

1318: £6 13s 4d

Vicarage:

1291: £9 6s 8d

1318: £2

Patronage- Church appropriated to the bishop, to whom the
patronage of the perpetual vicarage also belonged.

Vicars

Thomas Kirkoswald d before 2 July 1318, when

Alan Horncastle, chaplain col.[Reg Halton 2, p 170] Res

before 15 Apr 1323, when

William Kirkby, chaplain col.[Ibid, p 224]

Peter Wormington pres 18 Feb 1325 by the king by reason of
the vacancy of the see.[CPR, 1324-7, p 96]

John occ 10 Oct 1355.[Reg Welton, fol 11v] Occ 22 May
1370.[Reg Appleby, fol 43v]

FLUMBLAND (Allerdale)

Dedication- St Cuthbert

Valuation- 1291: £18

1318: £4

Patronage- The advowson belonged to the lord of the manor
of Flumbland.

Rectors

Walter Deyncourt d 5 Nov 1310.[Reg Halton 2, pp 20-1]

Master Peter Deyncourt, clerk pres 15 Nov 1310 by Robert
Gosforth by reason of his custody of the lands and

heir of Ralph Deyncourt.[Ibid, pp 19-20] Inst 24 Nov
1310.[Ibid, p 21] On 4 Dec 1310 the king pres Robert
Woodhouse, but following an inquest Master Peter re-
tained the rectory.[Ibid, p 23-4, 27-8] Ordained
deacon, 6 Mar 1311.[Ibid, p 31] Granted licence of
non-residence to study for two years, 17 Jul 1311.
[Ibid, p 39]

Master Thomas Deyncourt occ 12 Jun 1324, when granted
licence of non-residence to study for two yars from
Michaelmas.[Ibid, pp 208-9]

Alan occ 11 May 1359.[Reg Welton, fol 21r]

RAVENSTONEDALE (Westmorland)

Dedication- St Oswald(?) Valuation- Rectory:
1291: £6 10s 6d
1318: £2

Patronage- Church appropriated to the canons of Watton
priory. No perpetual vicarage ordained.

RENWICK (Cumberland)

Dedication- All Saints(?) Valuation- Rectory:
1291: £9 11s 4d
1318: not taxed

Patronage- Church appropriated to the canons of Hexham
priory. No perpetual vicarage ordained.

ROCLIFFE (Carlisle)

Dedication- unknown Valuation- Rectory:
1291: £10 13s 4d
1318: not taxed

Patronage- Church appropriated to the canons of Carlisle
priory. No perpetual vicarage ordained.

John Grandon, priest col 28 Jun 1362.[Reg Welton, fol 46v]

Granted licence of non-residence for two years from
15 Aug 1364.[Reg Appleby, fol 2r]

Elias occ 20 Jun 1378.[Ibid, fol 97v] Res before 14 Apr
1380 in exchange for the vicarage of Crosby with
Robert Taylor, who on that account was col 14 Apr 1380.
[Ibid, fols 108v-109r]

SEBERGHAM (Carlisle)

Dedication- St Mary(?)	Valuation- Rectory:
	1291: £ 5
	1318: £ 1

Patronage- Church appropriated to the canons of Carlisle
priory. No perpetual vicarage ordained.

SHAP (Westmorland)

Dedication- St Michael	Valuation- Rectory:
	1291: £ 20
	1318: £ 2 13s 4d

Patronage- Church appropriated to the canons of Shap abbey,
11 Dec 1287.[Reg Halton 1, pp 39-40] One of the canons was
customarily inst to the perpetual vicarage upon his pres by
the convent.

Vicars

Walter Ditton, OPraem res before 4 Jun 1295, when
William Kirkdale, OPraem pres by Shap abbey.[Reg Halton 1,
p 40] Inst 5 Jun 1295.[Ibid, p 41]

Thomas Winton, OPraem, pres of Shap abbey, inst 18 Nov
1319.[Ibid 2, p 198]

John Richmond, OPraem res 26 Oct 1343.[Reg Kirkby, fol
241v]

John Langton, OPraem, prior of Shap pres 28 Oct 1343 by
Shap abbey. Inst 30 Oct 1343.[Ibid]

SKELTON (Cumberland)

Dedication- St Michael (?) Valuation- 1291: £30
1318: £6 13s 4d

Patronage- The advowson pertained to the barony of Kirk-
linton.

Rectors

Master Adam Levington occ 1 Jul 1300. [CCR, 1296-1302, p
360] D 17 Nov 1305. [Reg Halton 1, p 238]

Nicholas Kirkbride, chaplain, pres of Richard Kirkbride,
Robert Tilliol, knt, Chrisopher Seton, Walter Corvy,
Adam Twynham, Gilbert Suthaik, Patrick Trump, and
Maud Carrick, inst 3 Dec 1305. [Ibid, pp 237-9] D be-
fore 9 Oct 1317. [Ibid 2, p 171]

William Kirkby, clerk, pres of the king, Richard Kirkbride,
Robert Tilliol, John Penrith, and John Walwayn, inst
17 Dec 1317. [Ibid, pp 154-5] Res 1 Jan 1322. [Ibid 2,
p 171]

Simon Kirkby, clerk col by lapse of time, 8 Jul 1322. [Ibid,
p 215] Granted licence of non-residence, 19 Jul 1322,
to study for three years. [Ibid, pp 215-6]

Simon Semer occ 6 Jan 1331, when granted licence of non-
residence to study for two years. [Reg Ross, fol 130v]
Granted licence of non-residence for three years. Mar
1334. [Reg Kirkby, fol 149v]

David Wooler, chaplain pres 28 Jan 1343 by Robert Farving.
knt. Inst 8 Feb 1343. [Ibid, fol 239r]

John Kirkby, clerk col 3 Oct 1343 by lapse of time (prob-
ably due to the death of Robert Farving, the patron;
CIPM 8, no 458). [Ibid, fol 241r]

Richard Aston occ 6 Jun 1346, when prov, at the queen's request, to a canonry of Lichfield with expectation of a prebend, notwithstanding that he held Skelton.[CPL 3, p 220] Prov 3 Feb 1349, at the queen's request, to the archdeaconry of Cashel, notwithstanding that he held the church of Skelton and had expectation of prebends or dignities of Lichfield and Hereford, which he was to resign.[Ibid, p 291]

John Parving. Estate ratified, 15 Nov 1352.[CPR, 1350-4, p 355] Res before 25 Jan 1359, when

Robert Parving, clerk, pres of Adam Parving, knt, inst.[Reg Welton, fol 25v] Res before 18 Feb 1359, when

John Parving, priest, pres of Adam Parving, knt, inst.
[Ibid, fol 26r]

John Miles pres 5 Nov 1367 by the king by reason of his custody of the lands and heir of Richard Kirkbride.
[CPR, 1367-70, p 26]

Adam Armstrong occ 22 Jun 1369, when estate ratified.[Ibid, p 286] D before 23 Mar 1378, when

John Fox, priest, pres of Ralph Greystoke, inst.[Reg Appleby, fol 92r]

STANWIX (Carlisle)

Dedication- St Michael(?)	Valuation- Vicarage:
	1291: £8 10s
	1318: not taxed

Patronage- Church appropriated to the bishop and the canons of Carlisle priory. The patronage of the perpetual vicarage belonged to the bishop.

Vicars

Adam occ 1300. [Reg Halton 1, p 130] D before 18 Feb 1310,
when

Gilbert Darlington, priest col.[Ibid, pp 13-4]

John Appleby d before 8 Oct 1316, when

Thomas Hogg, chaplain col.[Ibid, p 127]

Richard Caldbeck d before 19 May 1358, when

Richard Aslackby, priest col.[Reg Welton, fol 24r] Res before 16 Oct 1359 in exchange for the vicarage of Wigton with

Thomas Cullerdonne, priest, who on that account was col 16
Oct 1359. [Ibid, fol 29v]

STAFLETON (Carlisle)

[illegible]

Patronage- The advowson belonged to the lord of the manor of Stapleton.

Rectors

Gilbert Munchton occ 4 Jul 1294, when granted licence of
non-residence for three years from 24 Jun 1294.[Reg
Halton 1, pp 12-3]

Nicholas Coventry, chaplain pres 23 Dec 1296 by Sarah
Favelly.[Ibid, p 89] Inst 5 Feb 1296.[Ibid, p 96]

Roger Levington pres 2 Apr 1323 by the king by reason of his custody of the lands late of Walter Corry, a rebel, and by Richard Kirkbride, Peter Tilliol, Walter Kirkbride, and Patrick Suthaik. [CPR, 1321-4, p 272]

John Stapleton, clerk col 24 Jan 1324 by lapse of time.[*Reg Halton* 2, p 224]

Hugh res before 28 Mar 1338, when

John Kirkby pres by John Stapleton.[*Reg Kirkby*, fol 192Av]

Henry Martin res before 11 Sep 1356, when

Henry Whiteburgh, chaplain, pres of John Stapleton, inst.

[*Reg Welton*, fol 14r] Res before 16 Sep 1356 in exchange for the church of Bewcastle with

Master Robert Suthaik, clerk, pres on that account of John

Stapleton. Inst 16 Sep 1356.[*Ibid*, fol 14r] Res before 16 Nov 1356, when

Robert Bolton, priest, pres of John Stapleton, inst.[*Ibid*,

fol 14v] Granted licence of non-residence, 20 May 1361, for one year.[*Ibid*, fol 38v]

William Strickland res before 10 Apr 1368 in exchange for the church of Dusbby with

Nicholas Stapleton.[*Reg Appleby*, fol 17v]

Hugh Lamesley occ 26 Jan 1377.[*Ibid*, fol 94r]

THURSBY (Carlisle)

Dedication- St Andrew	Valuation- 1291: £20
	1318: £2

Patronage- The advowson belonged to the lord of the manor of Thursby.

Rectors

Master Alexander Ponsonby, clerk pres 25 Aug 1298 by

William Boyville, knt.[*Reg Halton* 1, p 113]

Master Richard Abington, subdeacon, pres of William

Boyville, knt, granted custody of the church, 8 Sep

1298.[Ibid, pp 109-10] Res 3 Jan 1306.[Ibid, p 245]
 William Swindon, clerk pres 5 Jan 1306 by Master Richard
 Abingdon by reason of a grant made to him by William
 Boyville, recently deceased.[Ibid, p 245] Inst 3 Feb
 1306.[Ibid, p 247] Ordained priest, 27 Mar 1311.
 [Ibid 2, p 32]
 William of St Guy d before 9 Sep 1316, when
 Master Robert Boyville, acolyte, pres of John Boyville,
 inst.[Ibid, p 124] Granted licence of non-residence,
 9 Sep 1316, to study for three years.[Ibid, pp 124-5]
 Ordained subdeacon, 2 Apr 1317.[Ibid, p 135] Granted
 licence of non-residence, 20 Jun 1355, for two years;
 8 Mar 1362, for two years.[Reg Welton, fols 9v, 44r]
 D before 14 Mar 1365, when
 Robert Bix, priest, pres of Thomas Ogle, inst.[Reg Appleby,
 fol 2r]
 Robert Paye, priest pres 24 May 1365 by the king by reason
 of his custody of the lands and heir of Robert Ogle.
 [CPR, 1364-7, p 126] Inst 15 Aug 1366.[Reg Appleby,
 fol 4v] Granted licence of non-residence, 17 Aug
 1366, for one year; 29 Aug 1376, for two years; 29 Sep
 1379, for one year.[Ibid, fols 8r, 89v, 105v] Will
 dated 6 Aug 1380.[Ibid, fol 114r; Test Karl, pp 140-1]

TORFENHOW (Allerdale)

Dedication- St Michael(?)	Valuation- Rectory:
	1291: £30
	1318: £5
	Vicarage:
	1291: £16
	1318: £3

Patronage- Church appropriated to the nuns of Rosedale, but patronage of the perpetual vicarage reserved to the bishop.

Vicars

Roger Poitevin col 12 Jan 1304. [*Reg Halton* 1, p 215] D before 23 Sep 1316, when

Robert Halton, priest col. [*Ibid* 2, pp 125-6] Res before 3 Apr 1323, when

Alan Horncastle, chaplain col. [*Ibid*, p 221]

T. Whitfield, priest col 10 Feb 1345. [*Reg Kirkby*, fol 245r]

Thomas Roland of Appleby, chaplain res before 30 Aug 1355 in exchange for the church of Low Dinsdale, dio Durham, with

Peter Morland, priest, who on that account was col 30 Aug 1355. [*Reg Welton*, fol 58v] Res before 7 Mar 1360 in exchange for the church of Clifton with

Thomas Salkheld, chaplain, who on that account was col 7 Mar 1360. [*Ibid*, fol 32v] Res before 21 Mar 1360 in exchange for the church of Clifton with

Peter Morland, priest, who on that account was col 21 Mar 1360. [*Ibid*, fol 33r]

Stephen Broughton, priest pres 18 Jan 1363 by the king by reason of the vacancy of the see. [*CPR*, 1361-4, p 278]

Thomas Tughall occ 15 Aug 1366. [*Reg Appleby*, fol 4v] Res before 29 Nov 1371 in exchange for the vicarage of Wardley, dio Lincoln, with

Robert Bix, who on that account was col before 29 Nov 1371. [*Ibid*, fol 53v] Estate ratified, 1 May 1373. [*CPR*, 1370-4, p 262] Will dated 20 Mar, proved 30 Mar 1380.

[Reg Appleby, fol 109v; *Test Karl*, pp 129-32]

John Carlisle, BCn&CL occ 9 Dec 1392, 8 Dec 1395.[Reg

Appleby, fol 136r; YBI, Reg 14 (Arundel), fol 79r]

ULDALE (Allerdale)

Dedication- unknown

Valuation- 1291: £18
1318: £5

Patronage- The advowson belonged to the lord of the manor of Uldale.

Rectors

Robert Deeping d 19 May 1305.[*Reg Halton* 1, p 232]

Hugh Rovecestre, acolyte pres 2 Jun 1305 by David Brechin, knt, by the courtesy of England, he having married Margaret, the late daughter and heiress of Alexander Bonkhill, who was patron of the church. Thomas Lucy pres David Cringledyke, chaplain on 1 Jul 1305 and later Adam Eaglesfield, subdeacon before 6 Sep 1305 by reason of his custody of the manor of Uldale during the minority of Margaret's heir.[*Ibid*, pp 231-4]
Rovecestre occ 19 Mar 1306, when ordained subdeacon. [*Ibid*, p 249] Granted licence of non-residence for one year to conduct his business in the king's court. [*Reg Kirkby*, fol 172v]

Richard Askby, chaplain, pres of Thomas Lucy, inst 5 Apr 1353.[*Reg Horncastle*, fol 1v] Granted licence of non-residence, 12 Dec 1354, to stay in the service of Thomas Lucy for one year; 12 Feb 1356, in the same for one year; 12 Feb 1357, in the same for two years; 11 Feb 1359, in the service of Agnes Lucy for two years;

16 Apr 1361, in the service of Thomas Lucy for two years; 26 Jan 1364, in the same for one year.[Reg Walton, fols 6r, 12v, 15v, 26r, 38r; Reg Appleby, fol 1v]

Master William Aikheved occ 10 Mar 1366, when granted licence of non-residence for two years.[Ibid, fol 4r] D before 25 Mar 1366, when

Thomas Etton, priest pres by the king by reason of his custody of the lands of Thomas Lucy.[CPR, 1364-7, p 228] Inst 4 Apr 1366.[Reg Appleby, fol 4r] Res 1 Sep 1375 in exchange for the church of Huggate, dio York, with

Master Robert Marrays.[Ibid, fol 76v] Granted licence of non-residence, 1 Sep 1375, for one year; 29 Sep 1382, to study for one year.[Ibid, fols 76r, 124r]

John Frizell occ 10 Dec 1385, when granted licence of non-residence for three years.[Ibid, fol 131v] Occ 19 Sep 1396, when granted an indult to be non-resident for seven years in the service of the prior of Tynemouth. [CPL 4, p 535]

WALTON (Carlisle)

Dedication- unknown

Valuation- Rectory:

1291: £50

1318: not taxed

Patronage- Church appropriated to the canons of Lanercost priory, to whom the advowson of the perpetual vicarage also belonged.

Vicars

John d before 6 Apr 1340, when

Robert Stanwix, chaplain pres by Lanercost priory.[Reg
Kirkby, fol 210r]

John Silverside res before 13 Mar 1359, when

John Sebergham, chaplain, pres of Lanercost priory, inst.

[Reg Welton, fol 26v] D before 5 Aug 1362, when will
proved.[Test Karl, pp 60-1]

Richard Hogg occ 26 Jan 1377.[Reg Appleby, fol 94r] Res be-
fore 9 Mar 1381, when

Robert Chester, priest, pres of Lanercost priory, inst.

[Ibid, fol 120r]

WARCOF (Westmorland)

Dedication- St Columba

Valuation- Rectory:

1291: £35

1318: £3 8s 6d

Patronage- The advowson pertained originally to the barony
of Westmorland. Isabella Clifford initiated a project to
grant the advowson to the canons of Shap abbey, but it was
not completed before her death in 1292.[CCR, 1288-96, pp
289-90; CIPM 3, no 70] Licence for the alienation of the
advowson to the canons by her son Robert Clifford was ob-
tained, 2 Feb 1307.[CPR, 1301-7, p 498] Licence for the
appropriation of the church, 28 Mar 1307.[Ibid, p 508] The
church appropriated, 1307.[Reg Halton 1, pp 292-4, 316]
One of the canons was customarily inst to the vicarage upon
his pres by the convent.

Rector

Robert Musgrave occ 15 Jul 1310.[Reg Halton 2, pp 18-9] D
before 28 May 1311.[Ibid, p 33]

Vicars

William Warthcop, OPraem pres 28 May 1311 by Shap abbey.

[Ibid, p 33]

Hugh Howden, OPraem, pres of Shap abbey, inst 17 Aug 1320.

[Ibid, pp 200-1]

and a canonry and prebend of St Chad's. [Ibid 2, p 93]
James Dalilegh, clerk, pres of John Wigton, knt, inst 21
Apr 1308. [Reg Halton 1, p 296] D before 29 Jul 1311.
[Ibid 2, p 93]

John Sandale occ 4 Dec 1313, when, at the king's request,
confirmed by Pope Clement V in possession of the
churches of Wigton; Ratcliffe and Stillingfleet, dio
York; Simonburn, dio Durham; Stoke and Solihull, dio
Coventry and Lichfield; Wimbledon, dio Winchester;
North Repps, dio Norwich; Chalk, dio Rochester, and
Dunbar, dio St Andrews; the chancellorship of St
Patrick's, Dublin; the treasurership of Lichfield; and
canonries and prebends of Wells and Beverley. [CPL 2,
pp 119-20]

William Hillum, priest pres 7 Oct 1316 by the king by
reason of his custody of the lands of John Wigton,
following the revocation of another pres made on 25
Sep 1316 of Gilbert Wigton. [CPR, 1313-7, p 551]
Granted the church *in commendam* for six months, 2 Apr
1317. [Reg Halton 2, p 141] Inst 27 Oct 1317. [Ibid,
pp 151-2]

Adam Staingrave res before 24 Mar 1334 in exchange for the
church of Bottesford, dio Lincoln, with
Gilbert Wigton pres 13 Mar 1334 on that account by
Holmcultram abbey. Inst 24 Mar 1334. [Reg Kirkby, fol
149r/v] Res 17 Jun 1336. [Ibid, fols 171v-172r]

Vicars

Henry Appleby, deacon col 24 Jun 1336. [Ibid, fol 171v]

Ordained priest, 14 Jun 1337.[Ibid, fol 190r]

William Kirkby occ 1340.[Ibid, fol 213v] Occ 1 Mar 1341.
[Ibid, fol 228r]

William Kirkbythore occ 3 Dec 1350, when his disp for
bastardy extended so that he could resign the vicarage
and accept another benefice.[CPL 3, p 382]

Thomas Cullerdonne pres 9 Jan 1353 by the king by reason of
the vacancy of the see.[CPR, 1350-4, p 384] Res be-
fore 16 Oct 1359 in exchange for the vicarage of
Stanwix with

Richard Aslackby, priest, who on that account was col 16
Oct 1359.[Reg Welton, fol 29v]

William Cressop res before 30 Apr 1367 in exchange for a
mediety of the church of Kirkbampton with

Richard Damysell, who on that account was col 30 Apr 1367.
[Reg Appleby, fol 9r] Res c 16 Jul 1368 in exchange
for the church of St Mary, Durham, with

William Hayton.[Ibid, fol 16v] Res c 28 Jun 1369 in ex-
change for the church of Conisby, dio York, with

John Welton.[Ibid, fol 27r] Estate ratified, 5 Feb 1373.
[CPR, 1370-4, p 245] Res 1381 in exchange for the
church of Hutton with

Robert Lowther, who on that account was col 1381.[Reg
Appleby, fol 120v]

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